FBIS DAILY REPORT
CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 167

28 August 1981

BULGARIA

Reportage on Angola-South Africa Situation C 1
'Rude Provocation' C 1
Authorized BTA 'Announcement' C 1
'Gendarme in That Region' C 1
Dulbokov-Led Delegation Departs for Libya C 2
Tsanov Receives PDRY Deputy Prime Minister Yahya C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Press Reports on Incidents, Events in Poland D 1
Poland's Kociolek in Prague at CPCZ' Invitation D 1
Pastukhov-Led Komsomol Delegation Pays Visit D 1
Report on Arrival D 1
Delegation Continues Visit D 2
Meeting With Husak D 2
Japanese Parliamentary Delegation Meets With Indra D 2
U.S. Blocks Progress at Law of Sea Conference D 3
[RUDE PRAVO 26 Aug]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker Comments on Upcoming Trip to Mexico E 1
Radio Comments on Paul Nitze Nomination E 1
Harry Tisch Receives Poland's Albin Siwak E 2
Harry Tisch Meets With FRG Trade Unionists E 3

HUNGARY

Bulgarian Trade Union Delegation Visits F 1
Joint Trade Union Communique F 1
Nemeth Receives Delegate F 1
Youth Killed in Attempt To Ram Border at Koszeg F 1
[MAGYAR NEMZET 27 Aug]

POLAND

PZPR Central Committee To Meet 2 September G 1
PZPR Commissions on Next Central Committee Plenum G 1
Economic Questions G 1
Solidarity Presidium Ends Debates in Gdansk G 1
Media Access Discussed G 1
'Strategy' Statement Adopted G 1
Press Conference G 2
Government-TU Standoff in Radom Continues G 2
Talks Still Not Underway G 2
Government Talks Proposal G 3
Strike To Be Suspended G 3
Primate's Delegate To Attend G 3
Demands Reiterated [AFP] G 3
Olsztyn Printers' Strike Continues; Talks Possible G 4
Talks With TU Envisaged G 4
Katowice Steelworks Management Refutes Solidarity G 4
26 Aug Ministry of Mining Meeting With KKP Noted G 4

Warsaw Commentary on Solidarity Extremists [Podolski] G 5
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Campaign Against Rulewski [Leszczynski, 24 Aug] G 7
NSZZ Farmers Protest Government-Solidarity Protocol G 9
Primate Glemp Meets With Farmers Solidarity G 9
Ministry, TU Officials on Price Rise Compensation G 9
Jaruzelski Meets With Industrial TU Commission G 9
Czechowicz Holds Talks With Lodz TU Officials G 10
Debate Continues Over Journalists' Statement G 11
ARGUMENTY Opposition G 11
Warsaw Chapter Supported G 11
Warsaw KPN Trial Suspended Until 8 September G 11
Radio Program Journalists Protest Radio Policy [SOLIDARNOSC 21 Aug] G 11
TRYBUNA LUDU Article Discusses Bread Price Rise G 12
Trade Ministry Forecast on Food Supplies G 12
Commission Discusses Market Subsidies, Rationing G 13
State Price Commission on Food Price Hikes Communique [SLOWO POWSZECHNE 24 Aug] G 13
Glemp Sermon on Responsibility, Appeal for Calm G 15
TRYBUNA LUDU Discusses Renewal of Unity Front [17 Aug] G 17
ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on 1956 Political 'Thaw' [22-23 Aug] G 21

ROMANIA

Government Statement on South African Attacks H 1
Ceausescu Greets SWAPO's Nujoma, Cites Solidarity [SCINTEIA 26 Aug] H 1
Officials at National Day Parade Listed [SCINTEIA 25 Aug] H 2
World Leaders Greet Ceausescu on National Day H 3
CEMA's Fadeyev [SCINTEIA 26 Aug] H 3
PRC Leaders [ROMANIA LIBERA 25 Aug] H 3
Karmal's Greeting [SCINTEIA 26 Aug] H 4
Yugoslavia's Kraigher [ROMANIA LIBERA 25 Aug] H 4
Mojsov Greets Ceausescu [ROMANIA LIBERA 25 Aug] H 5
Castro Sends Congratulations [SCINTEIA 25 Aug] H 5
Mongolian Leaders' Greetings [SCINTEIA 25 Aug] H 5
SRV Congratulations [SCINTEIA 25 Aug] H 6
Israel's Navon [SCINTEIA 25 Aug] H 6

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG Urges Belgian Measures Against Terrorists I 1
Government Protests S. African Actions in Angola I 2
Cuba's Alarcon Arrives in Belgrade on Visit [Havana] I 2
KOMUNIST Interviews Minic on Nonalignment, Detente I 2
Belgrade Official Rebuts Radio Comment on Prices I 13
Correction to Serbian President Vidic Speech I 15

REPORTAGE ON ANGOLA-SOUTH AFRICA SITUATION

'Rude Provocation'

AU271035 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--RABOTNICHESKO DELO and ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME comment today on the escalation of the aggression of the South African Republic against Angola.

The rude provocation is aimed at intimidating the 'frontline countries', at making them stop their support to the SWAPO [South West African People's Organization]--the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, at encouraging the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] dissenters in their subversion against Angola.

Both newspapers are unanimous that the enormous military apparatus of Pretoria is generously 'fed' by Washington and its allies.

Pretoria's banditism is a manifestation of the international terrorism, a rude violation of the international norms and the UN Charter, writes ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO underlines that the new armed invasion of the South African Republic against Angola is a dangerous provocation, threatening peace and international security.

Authorized BTA 'Announcement'

AU271920 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Over the last two days South African troops actively supported by air forces, penetrated deep into the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola. As a result of this latest piratic incursion of the South African racists, many peaceful Angolan citizens died and extensive material damage was inflicted. The massing of South African troops, organised gangs of mercenaries and private puppet counterrevolutionary groupings along the border with Namibia continues. The Angolan armed forces have waged a fierce battle for the repulsion of the foreign invaders.

The continuing escalation of the armed aggression of the racist regime of the South African Republic clearly shows that it is closely connected with the implementation of the strategic plans of international imperialism and the reactionary forces for destabilization of the progressive regimes in the independent African states, for their diversion from the path of socioeconomic reforms they have taken.

The BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY (BTA) is authorized to announce that the People's Republic of Bulgaria strongly condemns the new aggression of the South African racists against the People's Republic of Angola and decisively insists on the immediate termination of the aggression and on the withdrawal of the invaders. The People's Republic of Bulgaria reaffirms her fraternal solidarity and complete support for the People's Republic of Angola.

'Gendarme in That Region'

AU280917 Sofia BTA in English 0810 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 28 Aug (BTA)--The escalation of the undeclared war of the racist regime of South Africa in the People's Republic of Angola poses a serious threat to peace and security of independent Africa, writes today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO in a commentary on the incursion.

Pointing out that by its provocational military actions the South African Republic is seeking to undermine the revolutionary acquisitions of that country and to force Angola and the other independent African states to abandon their firm support for the just liberation war of the Namibian patriots, the paper says: "It is no secret that the racists are by no means alone in their actions.

At hand is an alarming law: The more active the support Pretoria is being rendered by its patrons in the United States and NATO, the more impudent and dangerous become the crimes committed by the racists. The new American administration and the NATO member-countries, reads the commentary in part, are obstinately turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to the resolution of the United Nations, imposing general and obligatory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. The Western states, which are afraid of the growing strength of the progressive forces in the southern parts of the African Continent, have cast the South African Republic into the role of a gendarme in that region. They are doing their utmost for the racist regime to have at its disposal the necessary military weapons for the suppression of the liberation struggle of peoples.

In its commentary today's NARODNA MLADEZH dwells on the same subject stressing that the South African knot of controversies have its international repercussions, which outgrow its regional character. It is not an accident fact, says the paper, that the aggression against the People's Republic of Angola coincides with the activization of the so-called "contact group" on Namibia, composed of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada, which wishes to impose a neocolonial decision on the Namibian problem and has selected the South African Republic for its instrument of implementation.

DULBOKOV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR LIBYA

AU271914 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Today a delegation, led by Mr Sava Dulbokov, member of the CC of the BCP and first deputy-chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front left for the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. The delegation will take part in the international conference for solidarity with the people of Libya.

TSANOV RECEIVES PDRY DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER YAHYA

AU271955 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Aug (BTA)--Today Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Anis Hasan Yahya, deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council of the Yemen People's Democratic Republic and member of the CC of the Yemen Socialist Party-chairman of the National Jubilee Committee for the Celebration of the 1,300th Anniversary of the Bulgarian State.

During the friendly talks satisfaction with the strengthening of the friendly ties between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Yemen Socialist Party, as well as with the constant development and deepening of relations of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic was expressed.

PRESS REPORTS ON INCIDENTS, EVENTS IN POLAND

AU271240 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 August 1981 on page 7 carries a 250-word CTK dispatch entitled "Criticism of 'Solidarity's' Practices." The dispatch reports on the 25 August Ostrowiec meeting of representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions from all over Poland, who reportedly "criticized 'Solidarity's' attempts to negotiate with government representatives from a position of strength" and "protested against the attempts of certain forces in 'Solidarity' to constantly escalate tension and demanded energetic action against chaos and anarchy." According to the dispatch, the Industrial Branch Trade Union representatives also endorsed an economic model "in which the collective takes part in the management of an enterprise" and advocated joint deliberations of all Polish trade union federations.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word CTK Warsaw dispatch entitled "Aimed at Exerting Pressure on the Government." The dispatch reports on the "acts of sabotage against all constructive efforts to deal with the critical phenomena in the Polish People's Republic, acts escalating tension and unrest" organized by the "extreme forces" in Solidarity on 25 August. It mentions the 1-hour bus drivers' strike in Radom, reportedly designed to "establish an atmosphere of pressure for talks with a government commission"; the continuing printers' strike in Olsztyn, described as "another action proving that the extremists in the 'Solidarity' leadership are not interested in a speedy normalization in the country"; and the Gdansk session of the Solidarity leadership, which is said to have "discussed ways of enforcing access to mass information media with the aim of their preaching the 'Solidarity' leadership's political demands."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries two more items related to the situation in Poland: a 50-word "ZR"-signed dispatch on the cancellation of this year's Poznan Fair on the grounds that "there is no sense in organizing such a costly commercial venture under the present situation on the Polish market"; and a 150-word CTK dispatch on Stanislaw Kania's visit to Poznan. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee reportedly stressed there the "inevitability of adopting unpopular measures" in Poland's present economic situation, and spoke about the "need to reinforce legality and the state's position, strengthen the party's leading role and wage a resolute struggle against everything posing a threat to Poland's security."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 August on page 7 carries a 400-word CTK Moscow dispatch entitled "The Guarantee of the Future Lies in Socialism." The dispatch summarizes Y. Orlik's article published in the 25 August issue of Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which praises the work of the Polish youth periodical PLOMIENIE.

POLAND'S KOCIOLEK IN PRAGUE AT CPCZ INVITATION

LD271506 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] At the invitation of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Voivodship Committee, is paying a working visit to the Prague party organization. During his visit, the Polish guest will acquaint himself with the system and methods of party work in Prague.

PASTUKHOV-LED KOMSOMOL DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

Report on Arrival

LD271653 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Excerpt] A delegation of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee led by Boris Pastukhov, first secretary of the Central Committee, began its official visit to Czechoslovakia today at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee.

The Soviet guests were welcomed in Prague by Miloslav Dockal, chairman of Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee. The heads of the two youth organizations signed a cooperation program for the two fraternal organizations during the period 1981-85 this morning. The program lists the extent of mutual contacts and exchanges of experience of the two organizations in the next 5 years.

Delegation Continues Visit

LD271704 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A delegation of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee led by its first secretary, Boris Pastukhov, met in Prague today with Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the International Union of Students [IUS]. The Soviet guests briefed themselves on the current tasks of the IUS in the struggle against imperialism, unity of the student movement, and for promoting the ideas of peaceful cooperation and social progress.

Members of the Soviet delegation laid a wreath on the Grave of the Unknown Soldier at the national monument on Zizkov Hill as well as on the monument of Soviet soldiers at the honorary burial place in Olsany Cemetary.

Meeting With Husak

LD271710 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Excerpt] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today a delegation of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee led by Boris Pastukhov member of the CPSU Central Committee and of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

In a cordial discussion, they talked about the role of Czechoslovak and Soviet youth in the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress and about the participation of the young generation in the struggle for the preservation of peace and progress in the world.

Comrade Gustav Husak paid a high tribute to the importance of the all-round active cooperation and exchange of experience between the Socialist Union of Youth and the All-Union Komsomol. The acceptance of new ideas by both sides contributes to the strengthening of the cohesion of both organizations in all areas and to their varied activities and, allows for a mutual and more profound understanding of the problems facing youth groups. It also contributes to the further development of the fraternal relations and firm alliance existing between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. At the end of the meeting, Comrade Husak wished both organizations success in their activities.

Present at the meeting were Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Miloslav Dockal, chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth Central Committee.

JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION MEETS WITH INDRA

LD271108 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 26 Aug 81

[Text] Prague, 26 Aug (CETEKA)--The visiting delegation of the Japan-Czechoslovakia Friendship Association of the Japanese parliament's House of Councillors, led by its Chairman Torasaburo Shintani, were received here Wednesday by Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alois Indra.

During the meeting held in a friendly atmosphere both sides appreciated the present level of political, economic and cultural relations between the two countries and stressed that there exist favourable preconditions for their further development in all spheres. They pointed to the significant role of contacts between the two countries' parliaments which have a long tradition and are constantly widening.

Discussing the two countries, stands on topical issues of international policy both sides stressed their interest in progress at the current as well as planned disarmament talks.

The Japanese guests, who arrived here Wednesday for a three-day visit at the invitation of the Czechoslovak group of the Interparliamentary Union, met also with Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak group.

He informed them of the basic principles of the Czechoslovak foreign policy stressing particularly the country's efforts for ensuring peace in the world.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the Japanese delegation's visit to Czechoslovakia will contribute towards deepening understanding and friendship between Japan and Czechoslovakia.

U.S. BLOCKS PROGRESS AT LAW OF SEA CONFERENCE

AU271214 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 81 p 2

[CTK Geneva dispatch: "Against the Will of Most Countries; the United States Is Blocking the Course of the Conference on the Law of the Sea"]

[Text] Geneva, 25 Aug (CTK)--The second part of the 10th session of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has been going on in Geneva since 3 August, will be concluded this Friday.

As was announced in Geneva, the conference will again convene on 8 March 1982 in New York for its 11th session, which is to be really the last one. The participants in the conference have agreed only on currently regarding the text of the codification accord worked out so far as the official text.

The unsuccessful conclusion of the 10th session, the agenda of which included the final approval of the international convention on the law of the sea that has been under preparation since 1973, is due to the obstructions of the U.S. delegation, which has been systematically sabotaging the conference negotiations from the time President Reagan assumed office, with the aim of ensuring advantages for American monopolies.

(Inamul Haq) from Pakistan, chairman of the Group of 77 nonaligned countries at the conference, declared that the developing countries do not intend to renew the discussion on the points on which agreement has already been reached. The American Government cannot reject the almost 10 years of work by more than 150 states, including the former U.S. Government, without trampling underfoot the principle of good faith in interstate negotiations. It is not to be tolerated that the international seabed be utilized by several states to the detriment of the rest of the world. It would be an example of inconsiderateness toward the efforts made by the peoples of the Third World to ensure their exclusive economic interests, (Haq) said.

A similar view was also shared by the delegations of the socialist states, which even insisted on maintaining the original working schedule and on approving the convention this year. The U.S. approach to the accord was condemned on Monday by Dusan Spacil, CSSR deputy minister of foriegn affairs and head of the Czechoslovak delegation. He said that the U.S. stand has blocked the several years of work by the conference and that it contradicts the vital interests of the states which took part in it.

HONECKER COMMENTS ON UPCOMING TRIP TO MEXICO

LD271708 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Aug (ADN)--General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council Erich Honecker on Thursday received journalists from several Mexican press organs and television stations for a discussion regarding his scheduled state visit to Mexico. He said he was looking forward with great interest to the visit to Mexico, to meeting its people and to its world famous culture. "I attach special importance to the coming talks with President Lopez Portillo, whom I regard highly as a consistent champion of a policy of peace. Our exchange of views will, I am convinced, be fruitful and useful for our bilateral relations and for peace."

Later in the meeting Erich Honecker praised the traditionally friendly relations between the GDR and Mexico which, in his view, were developing dynamically and to their mutual advantage. "There is remarkable progress both in trade as well as in scientific, technological and cultural cooperation," noted the chairman of the State Council. "However positive this development is, we are really just at the beginning. In our view there are major opportunities for expanding mutually advantageous trade and for cooperating in the market place.

The GDR and Mexico agreed on the basic issues of our time--peace, disarmament and detente. "This is a strong bond which links us. Relations of friendship and cooperation undoubtedly flourish best when we do all we can to preserve and consolidate peace. In view of the currently complicated world situation, this seems to me to be particularly necessary and important."

Erich Honecker expressed his concern at the development of the international situation. "Certain imperialist circles, particularly the United States are backing confrontation instead of detente, are stepping up arming and introducing a new round in the arms race. Through its decision to produce the neutron weapon now after all, the United States has taken a grave decision. This is a new step in a policy which poses serious threats to the security and life of peoples, even all of mankind."

Erich Honecker then spoke about the tasks in the GDR's internal development, particularly in the economic and social field, as were adopted at the 10th SED Congress. He finally affirmed that the GDR would continue in the future to work actively for peace, detente and disarmament, for flourishing cooperation for mutual benefit. "I am convinced," he said, "that my visit to Mexico will give fresh incentive to the relations between our two states and, in our common interests, serve the goals which I just mentioned."

RADIO COMMENTS ON PAUL NITZE NOMINATION

DW280707 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1115 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Arno Friedmann Commentary]

[Text] The Washington POST has reported that Paul Nitze will head the U.S. delegation in future negotiations with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms limitation in Europe. Nitze is considered to be an eager proponent of a tough and unyielding course toward the USSR. Is his nomination part of a plan? Here is Arno Friedmann.

The White House has not yet officially confirmed that Nitze will be the chief negotiator, but his nomination would be in line with Washington's present course.

The Soviet news agency TASS characterized the prospective U.S. chief delegate this way: Paul Nitze, who for about 30 years held various high positions in the Pentagon, is today the chairman of political studies in the Committee of the Present Danger, an organization which is definitely opposed to arms limitation. The Committee of the Present Danger, an ultrarightist group, was set up in the seventies when international politics was marked by detente. The organizers saw in this detente a danger they wanted to counteract. Paul Nitze was one of the inventors of the concept of an alleged Soviet threat and superiority in arms technology which had to be countered.

The big bourgeois FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE recently confirmed the usefulness of Nitze's works for Western propaganda. The paper stated that there was probably no editorial board or important association which was not amply supplied with Nitze publications and arguments which always contain the same well-known but effective points. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE says--although with other words--that Nitze is doing an effective job justifying U.S. imperialism's arms build-up which threatens peace.

But how can an opponent of disarmament be expected to make serious and honest effort to limit the arms race? In announcing Nitze's forthcoming nomination, the Washington POST wrote the following: Nitze's nomination may cause apprehension among the Europeans who are striving for progress in these negotiations.

With Nitze as chief negotiator on nuclear arms limitation and retired Gen Edward Rowney in charge of future SALT negotiations, the U.S. team would totally consist of the proponents of a tough course. Such a personnel policy should indeed make it even clearer that the present U.S. Government does not honestly want to pursue disarmament. Its chief negotiators are part of a plan, as it were. Like Eugene Rostow, who was nominated as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency 2 months ago, Nitze is a man of the arms companies and of the military-industrial complex who for all his political life has supplied the ideological justification for the U.S. arms programs.

The so-called arms gaps of the United States have been inventions of the Nitzes and Rostows. The provocative term "gap" has always helped fill the order books of the arms companies and secure their profits. Those who authorize such specialists to hold disarmaments negotiations expose the problem, which is complicated anyway, to very serious additional burdens.

HARRY TISCH RECEIVES POLAND'S ALBIN SIWAK

LD271810 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Aug (ADN)--Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Central Executive received a Polish delegation of the executive of the Industrial Branch Trade Union in Berlin on Thursday. It includes Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Politburo and deputy chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Union, and Henry Fidecki, chairman of the Industrial Branch Trade Union. The Polish visitors are in the GDR at the invitation of the Central Executive of the Building and Timber Industry Trade Union.

In the course of the exchange of views, Harry Tisch gave an account of the manifold tasks of the trade unions in implementing the important decisions of the 10th SED Congress for further developing the advanced socialist society in the GDR. To live up to the great demands of the 1980s with increasing efficiency, it is necessary to combine the advantages of socialism still more closely with the scientific-technical revolution and to increase the effectiveness of social labor.

At present the working people who launched fresh initiatives as part of socialist competition are making great efforts in all enterprises in support of the policy of the party of the working class, whose objectives are the good of the people and the preservation of peace. In firm alliance with the SED the FDGB safeguards, by its alert work closely related to life, the activities of the working people so as to continue the time-tested course of the unity of economic and social policy. For it must be clear to everyone that one can consume only what was previously created through work.

Albin Siwak reported on the extremely complicated political and economic situation in Poland. He stressed that the task must now be to wage the struggle against the enemies of socialism with single-minded thoroughness, to put a resolute end to their actions against the constitutional functions of the socialist state power, and to restore order and security in the country. Especially in the ranks of Solidarity there exist--with the support of hostile imperialist forces--reactionary and extremist elements which constantly raise new political demands opposed to the interests of the working people and more and more openly attack the party and state, and harm socialist development.

The main task now is to mobilize all forces in order to effectively overcome the crisis in the country and bring about a rapid normalization of the economic situation. Firm political power and a rapid increase in labor productivity are the most important prerequisites for defending and stabilizing the socialist achievements in Poland. Albin Siwak gave assurance that the Industrial Branch Trade Unions will wage an even more determined and vigorous struggle against all counterrevolutionary elements and their machinations, and devote all their energies to strengthen and consolidate their organization as the true representative of the interests of the working people.

The two sides stressed that unbreakable friendship with the USSR and joint action of the socialist countries in the spirit of proletarian internationalism are the guarantee for safeguarding and preserving peace.

They strongly condemned the activities of reactionary imperialist circles, especially of the United States, which as a consequence of the course of confrontation, of the arms drive and above all by decisions of the U.S. administration concerning the production of the neutron weapon, constitute a serious danger to peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The talk proceeded in a cordial atmosphere and was attended by Lothar Lindner, member of the FDGB Central Executive Presidium and chairman of the Central Executive of the Building and Timber Industry Trade Union, as well as by Polish ambassador in the GDR, Maciej Wirowski.

HARRY TISCH MEETS WITH FRG TRADE UNIONISTS

LD271927 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Excerpts] Berlin 27 August (ADN)--The chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Harry Tisch received in Berlin today a delegation of the main committee of the Printing and Paper Industry Trade Union of the FRG Trade Union Federation, led by its chairman, Leonhard Mahlein. The FRG trade unionists are on a fact-finding visit to the GDR at the invitation of the Central Executive of the Printing and Paper Industry Trade Union of the FDGB. The exchange of views centered on the representation of the interests of the working class by trade unions in states with different social systems.

The talks, which proceeded in a frank, businesslike and openminded atmosphere were attended by Werner Heilemann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB Central Executive, and Heinz Deckert, chairman of the Central Executive of the Printing and Paper Industry Trade Union.

BULGARIAN TRADE UNION DELEGATION VISITS

Joint Trade Union Communique

AU272004 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Aug (BTA correspondent)--The talks held between the delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, candidate-member of the CC of the BCP, and the delegation of the National Council of the Hungarian Trade Unions, led by Mr Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Council and member of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist and Workers Party, proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and complete understanding.

In the communique adopted it is stressed that the fraternal union between the Bulgarian and the Hungarian workers and trade unions, based on the principles of internationalism, on the traditional Bulgaro-Hungarian friendship and on the equality of the basic interests of the two countries is constantly strengthening.

On the part of their trade unions the delegations expressed readiness to further actively cooperate for strengthening the multilateral cooperation between the trade unions of the socialist community countries. At the same time they express their firm determination to continue to resist and unmask the anti-Soviet, antisocialist and anticommunist propaganda.

In the communique concern is expressed over the existing situation in Poland. The two parties to the talks noted that the current crisis which has afflicted the whole country can be resolved through uniting the efforts of the working class and their common actions. This is the only way for ensuring the socialist development of Poland. Our Polish friends, the document reads in a part, can always count on the support of the fraternal socialist countries, of both the Bulgarian and Hungarian trade unions.

The Bulgarian and the Hungarian trade unions condemn NATO plans for deploying middle-range missiles in Western Europe and Washington's decision to produce the neutron weapon. They emphasize that the international trade unionist movement should stand for defending the basic right of man--the right to live.

The delegations approved a plan for cooperation between the Bulgarian trade unions and the Hungarian trade unions for the 1982-83 period.

Today Mr Petur Dyulgerov was received by Mr Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist and Workers Party.

This evening the delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions left for Sofia.

Nemeth Receives Delegate

LD271774 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee received in Budapest Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the National Council of Trade Unions was present at the meeting.

YOUTH KILLED IN ATTEMPT TO RAM BORDER AT KOSZEG

AU280842 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Aug 81 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Border Violator Has Rammed Barrier, Died"]

[Text] On the afternoon on Tuesday, 25 August, Zoltan Szelesi, a 21-year old engine fitter residing in Szombathely, attempted to cross the border illegally at the Koszeg border crossing point. [between Hungary and Austria] With a hired car, he rammed the lowered barrier at great speed and sustained such grave injuries that he died on the spot.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO MEET 2 SEPTEMBER

LD271748 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has decided to convene a plenary session of the Central Committee on 2 September. The session will deal with the party's tasks in shaping the position of the workers' self-governments in socialist enterprises in the conditions of the economic reform.

PZPR COMMISSIONS ON NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD272056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A joint session of the Central Committee's Commission for Economic Reform and for Economic Policy and Commission for Social Policy was held in the PZPR Central Committee building. The session was chaired by Politburo member Stanislaw Opalko. The principal subject of discussion was the next plenum of the party Central Committee.

Economic Questions

LD272301 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee today held a joint session of the Commission for Economic Reform and Economic Policy and the Commission for Social Policy. The fundamental theme of this session was the upcoming Central Committee plenum. At this session, Marian Wozniak, secretary of the Central Committee, reported on the present state of the government work on changes in retail prices, a compensation system and the procedures for social consultation.

SOLIDARITY PRESIDIUM ENDS DEBATES IN GDANSK

Media Access Discussed

LD271504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Excerpts] The second day of the debate of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity ended late last night.

Discussing access to the mass media the meeting acquainted itself with the structure of operations at the programmatic office in the union press which is directly subordinated to the KKP press spokesman, in addition to resolving conflicts between the editorial offices of the union press and the office for the control of press, publications and public performances. It will also play the part of negotiator between the union regional press and the union authorities.

The meeting was to be continued today. But, as we learn from the Solidarity press bureau, part of the KKP Presidium has left for Olsztyn where the appeal to halt the protest action has been rejected by the local printers. In this connection, we do not yet know when the meeting of the KKP Presidium will be resumed nor the composition of the KKP during the resumed debate.

'Strategy' Statement Adopted

LD271814 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Early this morning, the Presidium session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity ended in Gdansk. The session adopted a statement on the union's immediate strategy. The KKP Presidium decided to undertake, jointly with the self-government movement, a specific action connected with the implementation of economic reform.

It was decided to organize competitive examinations for managers, to withdraw from amalgamations, to carry out surveys of enterprises, to implement control of the food economy and areas connected with it as well as areas of the economy which are affected by the free Saturdays actions.

It was also decided to withhold all protest actions not connected with the fundamental line of Solidarity activity. A published statement stresses, among other things, that all forces of the union must be focused on and used throughout the country for the defense of the most essential goals for the society, goals which are generally comprehensible. The undertaking of protest actions of one's own choosing in these circumstances constitutes an action against Solidarity.

A series of sessions of regional boards, attended by members of the KKP Presidium and its advisers, will be held in the immediate future in order to define a uniform strategy of action for the entire union. The information departments of the union will be coordinated and focused on a planned Solidarity information campaign. During the next 3-weeks a day of union information will be organized all over the country.

Each Solidarity member should receive on that day information on the goals and methods of work as well as the activity of the union. In the struggle for access to the media, the members of the KKP Presidium will appeal to the workforces of printing presses and distribution centers for carrying out a 7-day protest action.

Press Conference

LD272354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Excerpts] The National Consultative Commission [KKP] Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity ended its debate in Gdansk.

A press conference was held after the Gdansk debates by secretary of the KKP Presidium Andrzej Celinski. He expressed the view that the present propaganda campaign in the media against the union was bringing about a disorientation of society concerning the real goals of the KKP action and was distracting social attention from the real sources of the social conflict. The union considers that the fundamental problem at present is a reform of the system of ruling the country which would at the same time galvanize society and constitute a guarantee that the sacrifices made by the population, necessary in the present state of the economy, would not become lasting sacrifices.

Andrzej Celinski also stated, among other things, that during the debates the progress of work undertaken in the area of preserving law and order was discussed. The Mazowsze region of Solidarity was empowered to organize an information center dealing with the observance as well as the breach of law and order in our country. The secretary of the KKP Presidium reported that it was decided to convene in Gdansk on next Wednesday and Thursday a plenary session of the KKP Solidairty.

GOVERNMENT-TU STANDOFF IN RADOM CONTINUES

Talks Still Not Underway

LD271327 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] [Dateline not supplied] The talks between Radom Solidarity and the government commission have still not resumed. Solidarity is demanding that Professor Rybicki be removed as chairman of the government side because of his lack of desire to resolve the union's demands. The trade unionists also do not like the too spectacular--as they say--manner and form of carrying out negotiations that is imposed by the chairman of the government commission.

On the other hand, the commission still thinks that before beginning plenary talks with the Radom Interfactory Workers' Commission, it should have something to talk about--that is, a specific subject matter should be agreed on so that the talks are as effective as possible.

Government Talks Proposal

LD271642 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Social tensions continue to prevail in the Radom region caused by the announcement of a planned 1-hour general warning strike tomorrow if talks do not begin with a government commission on the proposals put forward by NSZZ Solidarity in Radom. Stanislaw Wad lowski arrived in Radom from Gdansk today with instructions from the National Consultative Commission. He took part in a session of the Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR] and was briefed on the situation in the region. So far no communique was been issued.

The government commission sent a Telex this morning to NSZZ Solidarity proposing that part of the government delegation could go to Radom tomorrow to start working talks with the MKR Radom regional group in preparation for plenary negotiations. Radom NSZZ Solidarity has not yet commented officially on the proposal.

Strike To Be Suspended

LD271825 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] I have just received the news that as a result of numerous talks between the government side, the Radom NSZZ Solidarity and the representative of the National Consultative Commission who was sent to Radom, Stanislaw Wadolowski, an agreement was reached a moment ago and the following decision taken: According to the advice conveyed by Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Council of Ministers, a government commission led by Tadeusz (?Kuligowski) will come to Radom tomorrow to resume talks with the Presidium of the Interfactory Workers' Committee of NSZZ Solidarity. The commission will be accompanied by a group of experts. The moment the negotiations begin, NSZZ Solidarity will suspend the strike action declared for tomorrow.

Primate's Delegate To Attend

LD280858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Late last night saw the reaching of an agreement which had been long awaited by the inhabitants of Radom region. After a break of several months, it was decided to resume the talks between the interministerial government commission under the chairmanship of Tadeusz (Kuziowski) and the executive of the Interfactory Workers' Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, adom region, under the chairmanship of Andreze Sobiraj. Radom Solidarity will suspend all protest actions with the opening of negotiations at 0800 today.

In talks, which will be held at the offices of the Higher Technological Institute in Radom, will be attended by Stanislaw Wadolowski, a representative of the KKP [National Consultative Commission] Presidium and by Romuald (Kukulowicz), a delegate of the primate of Poland.

Demands Reiterated

NC281024 Paris AFP in English 1014 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Aug (AFP)--A threatened one-hour warning strike throughout the region of Radom (120 km or 75 miles south of here) was suspended at 10:00 a.m. (0800 GMT) following the resumption of talks between a government delegation and union representatives, a union source in Radom said.

The source said however that a strike alert was still in force, and workers were wearing Solidarity armbands in the national colours, red and white.

The talks--which began at 8:00 a.m.--are taking place at the Radom headquarters of the association of engineers and salaried staff.

Unionists are demanding the rehabilitation of workers punished after the June 1976 revolts, and the use for medical and social purposes of a large complex being built for the police.

They also want an end to investigations by judicial authorities into a document published by un[illegible]sts to mark the fifth anniversary of the 1976 events in Radom. Copies of the d[illegible]ment were seized.

OLSZTYN PRINTERS' STRIKE CONTINUES; TALKS POSSIBLE

LD271652 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] In spite of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity's appeal, the strike is still continuing at the Olsztyn printing works. The workforce has sent an appeal to all printers in Poland not to undertake any actions in support of the strike.

Talks With TU Envisaged

LD280846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] In connection with the appeal by the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity for the suspension of the protest action at the printing works in Olsztyn, the government press spokesman said that there is a possibility of a meeting taking place on Saturday, 29 August, between a working team from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and representatives of the KKP Solidarity on the methods of covering the forthcoming NSZZ Solidarity congress on television and radio. The government press spokesman expressed the hope that conditions for constructive talks will be achieved by Saturday.

KATOWICE STEELWORKS MANAGEMENT REFUTES SOLIDARITY

LD272152 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The management and the executive of the party works committee at the Katowice steelworks have sent a letter to the workforce of the plant. The letter refutes the false accusations of the Solidarity works commission which organizes rallies and meetings, and which consciously leads astray those assembled. As we have said already the conflict has been brought about by the ban on publishing the WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC bulletin which contained antistate and anti-Soviet texts. A retaliation to the decision of the authorities is to be the referendum [word indistinct] by Solidarity about the director of the plant. The [word indistinct] works committee at the Katowice steelworks is protesting in this letter against this referendum and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions have also opposed it.

26 AUG MINISTRY OF MINING MEETING WITH KKP NOTED

LD272222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A meeting was held on 26 August between the leadership of the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry and the leadership of the KKP [National Consultative Commission] of Solidarity mining section. The meeting was devoted to the discussion and coordination of problems connected with the increased extraction of coal on free Saturdays resulting from the voluntary additional work of miners. The problems of the distribution of this coal was also discussed at the meeting.

Guidelines for using coal--which will be extracted until the end of the year--which is in excess of planned quantities because of additional voluntary work on free Saturdays were agreed upon after a thorough discussion and exchange of views on the subject. The coal that is extracted by miners during the eight free Saturdays will be earmarked for worker allowances, for peasant self-aid stores to be distributed among agricultural workers and farmers, for sugar factories and other plants of the food industry.

The approval by the state administration of these guidelines for the distribution of this coal is a condition for undertaking voluntary work.

WARSAW COMMENTARY ON SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS

LD272158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Jan Podolski commentary]

[Text] The extremist forces in the leadership of NSZZ Solidarity took up the attack on the national mass media. After a not particularly successful action, the so-called "Days without the press," the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity is at present considering extending its action by a further 6-day printers' strike.

The strike weapon is also directed against radio and television. On 19 August this year in Olsztyn, representatives of the National Coordinating Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of radio and television met with the [KKP] of radio and television. In the resolution, which was then put before the chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, the following demands were advanced: First, the ending of criticism of union activity by the editorial board of Polish radio and television. Critical radio and television items concerning certain actions, mainly of the local links of the union, were described as attacks on Solidarity. Second, guaranteeing to Solidarity the right to reply. Third, forming independent Solidarity editorial boards for radio and television accompanied by their simultaneous exemption from the management of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, both in essential [merytoryczny] aspects and (?from cadre matters). Fourth, the assurance of permanent public control of the activity of radio and television. If the directorship of the radio committee would not agree to the fulfillment of these demands, Solidarity, in the enterprise of radio and television stations, threatens an escalation of strike actions in the following sequence:

The first phase: strike readiness; the second phase: warnings based on presenting appropriate placards on television, and on the transmission of warning communiques on radio programs; the third phase: a strike based on the successive switching off of networks of particular radio and television stations, and if that does not lead to any results, complete silence on the airwaves.

These are not plans in a vacuum. At a meeting of Solidarity of the Mazowsze region with a group of members of the unions working in radio and television it was decided, among other things, to create a so-called white book. It will contain the texts of programs or the parts of programs not released for transmission, and it will contain the names of persons making decisions in these matters. This brings about a kind of blackmail with regard to all journalists who make programing decisions. At the same time, the Solidarity KKP, as we recalled at the beginning, is considering the matter of a further 6 days without the press. How is this to be evaluated? It is a plan of attack on the activity of all mass media, singling out radio and television in particular. The import of the intended actions is all too clear. It is a matter, and let us call a spade a spade, of the terrorizing of publishers by extreme elements in Solidarity. That would be the first, but at the same time, a decisive step in the direction of its seizure of power over the national mass media. On the other hand, the methods by which it is intended to achieve this aim need no comment.

Let us return, nevertheless, to our own radio and television backyard.

What the commission of the Solidarity of Polish radio and television and what the enterprises of radio and television stations term the halting of attacks on Solidarity, means in practice that this union be exempted from public criticism. In the opinion of the initiators of these actions, in radio and television programs one can thus criticize the leadership of the party, the government, the administration, and other trade unions--in a word, anyone and everything with the sole exception of Solidarity. Every sensible listener will admit that such behavior by a union which set up, as one of its fundamental goals, a striving for the democratization of life in Poland not only has nothing in common with democracy, but constitutes its negation.

In opposition to this demand in which, not admitting any hindrances, the proverbial cards have been laid on the table, the demand for what the representatives of Solidarity term the right to reply may seem to have a certain justification. But is it so in reality? In reality no one in the press or in radio refuses this right, neither to any institution nor to any person. Nor obviously do they refuse it to Solidarity. One has to admit, nevertheless, that there are many replies. An editorial board does not wish to publish every reply. That is their complete right. For instance, take a reply such as we had to deal with not long ago in Silesia when certain members of the KKP Presidium directly attacked Poland's international alliances and undermined the principles of its system. It is also worth adding that so far Solidarity itself has not been in a great hurry to reply. It is hard, after all, to be surprised by this. It is not easy, for instance, to undertake explaining the correctness of anti-Soviet publications in the Solidarity organ of the Katowice steelworks, or justifying the recent "days without the press." Yet these are the sort of actions by local links and Solidarity as a whole which are criticized by radio and television. What is stranger is that I have not observed too many replies of this kind appearing in the half a million edition of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly, which has its own peculiar eloquence.

Thus there arises the simple question: Why does Solidarity, having at its disposal a powerful network of its own mass media, demand [word indistinct] the presentation of its position, and that it be able to make broad use of party or government networks of the mass media? Or is it perhaps that something completely different is at stake? Perhaps the union is aiming at creating a peculiar kind of terror against all those who do not like its action? Perhaps it is in just such a context that one also has to understand the public control of radio and television demanded in Olbztyn. As is known, today is not the first time Solidarity strives to identify itself with all of society. Perhaps one simply has to understand the euphemism "social control" as meaning control by Solidarity. All these, and many other questions which one could pose (?with this meaning), I leave without answer?, leaving it to the radio listener to judge.

Now to another, to put it delicately, important matter: The Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, in accordance with the law of 2 December 1970, is--based on the constitutional assumptions--a central organ of the state administration. Thus it is logical that all attempts to disturb its activity are aimed against the state, and hence must be doomed to failure. For no state in the world would agree to any trade union of any kind taking over its structures. The creation of independent structures within the committee can only lead to the paralysis of its activity.

The organs of the state administration active in this area, radio and television, in addition to this enter into the communications network of the Warsaw Pact states. Thus it is an institution, the bases of whose action go beyond the national framework, and it cannot be a matter of indifference for our allies. The international policy of the state, its obligations with regard to the remainder of the socialist countries, comes into play here. Thus the brawling intentions of the extreme Solidarity leaders have to be assessed not just on a national scale, but on a far wider scale. The government wishes to undertake further talks with Solidarity, on the subject of its participation in television programs, but it cannot do this in the atmosphere of intimidation by protest actions. Only in an atmosphere of calm and order is it possible to deal with concrete matters. [word indistinct] at disturbing radio and television are particularly dangerous at the moment.

The difficult living conditions in the country increase the irritablity of the public. The creation of social tensions, internal controversies and harmful dissention deepens the level of society's disintegration, of its classes and sectors. All actions aimed in this direction hamper the line of mutual understanding and accord approved by the decisive majority of Poles. That is why they have to be opposed energetically and resolutely.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CAMPAIGN AGAINST RULEWSKI

AU270813 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Aug 81 p 2

[M. Leszczynski commentary: "Who Is He and What Is He Up To?"]

[Excerpts] I frankly admit that I listen to radio newscasts, watch television reports and read the press with an anxiety that is growing daily. Everything points to the fact that the extremist and adventurist forces acting under the sign of the Mafioso Social Self-Defense Committee-Workers' Defense Committee [KSS-KOR], having definitely won the upper hand within the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity, are anxious, very anxious to push our own homeland into the abyss of social anarchy and national catastrophe. Otherwise, it is impossible to see the point of the noisy organizational and propaganda bustle by some Solidarity devotees in trying to rally millions of members--under various demagogic slogans--for another total political confrontation with the constitutional authorities of the socialist state, a confrontation whose consequences are unpredictable.

Do I exaggerate? Do I see everything in black? Or am I perhaps purposely trying to frighten anyone? Not at all. Like any serviceman, I am only trying to look at the world and, from the class point of view, to assess political and social phenomena.

Particularly excelling in adventurous intrigues is the pathologically ambitious and psychologically unbalanced leader of Bydgoszcz Solidarity, Jan Rulewski, who, after the notorious provocation at the 19 March session of the voivodship People's Council, has been canonized and turned into the "first holy martyr of the new trade union movement" by extremists in the KKP actively and vociferously supported by fanatic elements among the membership.

Let us ask the first basic question: Who is Mr Jan Rulewski, who is so renowned all over Poland since March?

We know officially that in Solidarity he is chairman of the Interfactory Founding Committee in Bydgoszcz and deputy chairman of the KKP. That is not much. Let us go a little deeper into his biography.

Well, he is a young man. He was born in 1944, when his father, Pawel, in the ranks of Hitler's Wehrmacht, was oppressing the fraternal Slav peoples of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Particularly dark and shameful was the personal treason to the fatherland committed by Mr Rulewski who some time ago made an attempt to desert abroad...to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Today it is known that that was not an accident or a childish escapade by unexperienced Johnny. That was rather a kind of notorious family tradition.

Having served his prison sentence, he resolved to embark on a "political career," obviously, in the ranks of the antisocialist opposition. And it should be admitted that his teachers were highly skilled in political intrigues and in manipulating public moods, since his master was Jacek Kuron himself, whose views and "services" in antisocialist work are certainly well and generally known today.

That school undoubtedly helped Rulewski emerge on the strike wave in August and September of last year and then take over the chair in the Bydgoszcz region Solidarity.

Unable to withstand the relatively calm life in the region, he organized the aforementioned provocation at the voivodship People's Council session. While skillfully manipulating the slogan of insult to the union, Solidarity extremists used that provocation to start up the first large political confrontation with the socialist state authorities. Luckily enough, sound common sense won the upper hand on those March days. Social tension against the background of the Bydgoszcz events ended in the well-known Warsaw agreement. All Poles felt relieved. Only Mr Rulewski voiced his disapproval. In a letter to the KKP Solidarity dated 31 March 1981, he wrote: "What we had was...the state of a national uprising. You, our delegates, had the cards enabling you to win...you have not won anything...."

Apparently, Mr Rulewski's point was not to win social peace, but to garner power in the state.

After the Bydgoszcz events, there were persistent rumors that Rulewski was not happy with his present position, that he was aiming at a position at the top in Solidarity. In his opinion, that summit was manned by too many "liberals," soft-handed "mollusks" and other adherents of a dialogue with the authorities. The argument of sycophants, who are quite numerous in the movement, was: Solidarity needs strong men resolved for everything, even for a collective national suicide. There is no need to add that no one but Jan Rulewski is such an ideal leader.

Moreover, it should be noted that Mr Rulewski himself has not been behaving passively at all and has been trying in every way possible to help destiny take him to the cherished goal. Thus he has been doing his best to consolidate his popularity and leading influence in Solidarity ranks. He has even been pursuing his single-handed policy in the "international arena."

Thus, while visiting remote Japan, he persuaded Japanese trade unionists of the need to tighten cooperation with Solidarity against their common neighbor; that is, against the Soviet Union.

Also, a certain Krzysztof Robak, Polish refugee appointed as a spokesman of Bydgoszcz Solidarity in Great Britain, has been engaged in Mr Rulewski's policy in the international arena.

It is also worthwhile to call attention to the fact that Jan Rulewski is renowned in Bydgoszcz for courage and irreconcilability in revealing and branding all kinds of moral filth, primarily that of the other people! Meanwhile, his biography has also been marked by common offences--theft and forging documents.

I am fully aware that the reader feels virtually overwhelmed by those dark sides of Mr Rulewski's life. Many will certainly ask: Is it possible that all of them are true? There will be some exclaiming that this is another "security" provocation with regard to an innocent person.

I do not intend to press on anybody the said facts and events. What I can do is suggest the only and banal way to verify them: Simply ask Rulewski himself about it!

And since I myself do not have any doubt about the facts referred to, I feel in a position to call on everyone to think and find in his or her own conscience an answer to the question: Do persons such as Mr Rulewski have the moral right to lead Solidarity in Bydgoszcz or anywhere else?

NSZZ FARMERS PROTEST GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY PROTOCOL

LD270830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Main Council of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations of the NSZZ of Private Farmers has published a statement protesting the signing by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy and NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers of a protocol agreeing on the withdrawal from the Sejm of a draft bill on farmers' self-government, on the method of determining prices for farmers' services, and on the administration and calculation for past years of the farming development fund.

We consider, the statement declares, that this agreement is contrary to the principles of democracy and interferes in the internal affairs of the Organization of Agricultural Circles. We stand by the position that in matters affecting farmers and the countryside, all trade unions of private farmers ought to decide on the basis of partnership principles. This applies to both the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers and the Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations NSZZ of Private Farmers.

PRIMATE GLEMP MEETS WITH FARMERS SOLIDARITY

LD272144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A meeting took place today between Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the primate of Poland, and representatives of the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. The father primate paid great attention to the problems of the unity of the private farmers' trade union movement and to their cooperation with NSZZ Solidarity. The problems of providing food for the nation and the needs of private agriculture were discussed.

The members of the union were represented by Jan Kulaj, chairman of the founding committee; Gabriel Janowski, deputy chairman; and Jozef (?Celiga).

MINISTRY, TU OFFICIALS ON PRICE RISE COMPENSATION

LD271152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The work related to the preparation of a new bill on pensions and annuities as well as compensation for the price increase of bread, grain and flour products has been discussed at a meeting between the leadership of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs and representatives of the Central Board of the national NSZZ Trade Union of Veterans, Work Veterans and Disabled.

It has been agreed that representatives of the union will actively participate in further work on the new pensions and annuities bill. Discussing the inevitable increase in the price of bread, grain and flour products the representatives of the union expressed the view that the government draft to compensate for this increase takes more fully into account the situation of pensioners and annuitants than the draft submitted by the Center for Social and Vocational Work attached to the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity and will support the government project.

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH INDUSTRIAL TU COMMISSION

LD280125 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 28 Aug 81

[Text] Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski met the Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions yesterday. Deputy Premier Andrzej Jedynak and ministers concerned with matters under discussion also took part in the meeting.

Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Coordinating Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, presented the views of the commission on the current socioeconomic and political problems in the country. He also presented the demands on workers' self-government formulated at a national conference of 1300 representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions from the largest enterprises which was held in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski 3 days ago.

The representatives of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions stressed that all problems concerning the vital interests of working people ought to be discussed at a common table by the government and all trade unions. The Industrial Branch Trade Union movement considers that the most urgent issues at present are supply of coal heat and energy to households in towns and the countryside and rational management of this year's abundant crop. The Industrial Branch Trade Union movement advocates rapid implementation of economic reform and sees the foundations of the reform in an authentic workers' self-government characterized by a broad range of experiences. The Coordinating Commission reiterated its appeal for the expediting of work aimed at regulating by law the development of single family house-building.

Next to be discussed were the problems encountered by the Industrial Branch Trade Union movement in efforts aimed at overcoming the crisis, in particular in increasing production of coal and other raw materials, foodstuffs and toiletries. During the discussion the representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions noted the need to achieve a uniform system of rationing all over the country. In the opinion of the representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions, it is necessary to abolish as soon as possible the third shift for working women.

The representatives of the government informed the trade unionists of the decision to set up a commission to reform labor legislation. Representatives of trade unions will be invited to take part in the work of this commission.

Taking the floor, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the government takes very seriously the opinions, conclusions and demands formulated by the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. They are analyzed by the ministries concerned. The government highly appreciates the Industrial Branch Trade Union movement and sees it as a serious and constructive partner. Society acutely feels the effects of the crisis; the government is aware of this and it is quite understandable for the trade unions to express the concerns and ideas of the working people. However, the work of the trade unions cannot be limited to that only: One must say openly today that an improvement of the state of economy is indispensable, since only intensified production can bring about an improvement in living conditions. Without economic improvement all demands concerning the raising of the standard of living of the people will remain in a vacuum.

The premier then stressed that the Industrial Branch Trade Unions, which stand on a platform of class tradition and defend the interests of working people, are acting in a practical way in order to overcome the economic difficulties and secure the living conditions of the people. The government will act consistently along the line of cooperation with the trade unions and streamline the mechanism of consulting with society on all important decisions. The country is passing through a difficult period and facing dangerous situations. Therefore, we must jointly mobilize public opinion in order to overcome these dangers, the premier said. We are counting on the help of trade unions as well as of all forces which wish for a prosperous and peaceful future for our fatherland.

CZECHOWICZ HOLDS TALKS WITH LODZ TU OFFICIALS

LD271134 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A meeting took place in the Lodz PZPR Committee between Tadeusz Czechowicz, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, and representatives of the Lodz consultative group of the Autonomous Trade Unions. They reported on the action program of the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions. General social matters such as the economic reform, price changes and self-government in enterprises were also dealt with.

DEBATE CONTINUES OVER JOURNALISTS' STATEMENT

ARGUMENTY Opposition

LD271644 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] A resolution issued by members of the editorial team of ARGUMENTY expresses support for an open letter sent by a group of journalists to the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]. We recall that the letter constituted a reaction to the SDP statement printed in the 14 August issue of the SOLIDARNOSC weekly and signed by a few members of the SDP leadership. The resolution issued by the ARGUMENTY editorial team states: As members of a periodical which for years has been opposing various kinds of intolerance and lawlessness, we voice our concern that such phenomena have not been eliminated by the wave of renewal in our social and political life. Phenomenon such as the SDP statement, the proclaimed press strike and the threat of further strikes in the mass media indicate that not everyone in Poland has given up the idea of imposing his own views on others using undemocratic methods.

Warsaw Chapter Supported

LD271458 Poland PAP in English 1400 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug (PAP)--The Warsaw branch of the Polish Journalists Association adopted, with one abstention, at its plenary meeting August 26, a resolution in which it said the Warsaw journalists remained in full solidarity with the "statement of the Polish Journalists Association (SDP)" issued on August 10 and signed by five SDP activists, including members of the Warsaw chapter. Leading SDP activists have a statute right and duty to speak publicly in situations in which the voice of the association should not be missing and the circumstances make an urgent meeting of the representative organs impossible.

The Polish Journalists Association is the target of attacks. The association is being accused of activity aimed at splitting the society, of political partiality and anti-government actions. This happens in a situation in which, with the use of censorship and other means of pressure, the association is being prevented not only from defending its stand but also from presenting in public official documents expressing the basic aim of its activity: the defence of the principles of the journalist profession, the right to truth, objective information, service to the society.

We declared, stated the resolution, that we are against all deformations and dislocations in the system of social communication. We think that press strikes or intensifying leaflet campaign may be most effectively prevented by allowing the means of social communication to normally function.

WARSAW KPN TRIAL SUSPENDED UNTIL 8 SEPTEMBER

LD271830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The trial of members of the leadership of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, currently being heard by the Warsaw Voivodship Court, was suspended today until 8 September.

RADIO PROGRAM JOURNALISTS PROTEST RADIO POLICY

AU271021 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 21 Aug 81 p 15

["Open Letter to Polish Radio Listeners"--issued in Warsaw on 11 August 1981]

[Text] Dear listeners, you know yourselves that radio programs have reverted to the pre-August style.

We ask you, please, do not blame us for this. We are no longer able to influence what is beamed by Polish radio. Behind our backs, the recorded programs are supplemented with commentaries whose propagation we would never agree to. We are being deprived of the right to present the positions of all sides and we are being ordered to include in the programs commentaries that, in our view, do not serve our society. True information is being eliminated. These practices are an open violation of the Sejm act that obliges the mass media and journalists to honestly inform our society.

It is with regret that we state that we have Polish journalists in creative and administrative functions who for various reasons have decided to be faithless to the journalistic duty of service to society and the truth.

[Signed] The journalists of the Polish radio

Warsaw, 11 August 1981

[Under the letter, a facsimile of part of the page carrying the signatures of the journalists is reproduced. The signatures are mostly illegible, except for: "Rafal Brzeski, Szymanski, Jerzy Dabrowski, Krystyna [name indistinct], Teresa [name indistinct], Jacek Kalabinski, [name indistinct] Fabianowska, Ewa Heine, J. Zimecki, Krystyna [names indistinct] Adamczyk"]

TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE DISCUSSES BREAD PRICE RISE

LD271420 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 27 Aug 81

[From the press review]

[Text] On its front page, TRYBUNA LUDU carries an article by Jerzy Bielecki on price rises entitled: Commonsense and the Pocket. The author begins with the comment that if several months ago could observe fairly widespread agreement on increasing the price of bread, now, when the proposed new prices have been submitted, social enthusiasm has dropped, (?which gives rise to) reflection. Stressing that this cannot be assessed negatively because such are the objective psychological laws, Jerzy Bielecki tries to answer the question: Are the government's proposed price increases for bread and flour products really aimed at hitting the pocket? We read in the commentary that in the existing market situation, in conditions defying all the principles of good management concerning the relation between the retail prices of bread, flour, groats and so forth and the procurement price of grain, only a high, substantial increase in retail prices can stop waste. But as for full compensation, it emerges from the document of the State Price Commission that this is not a closed, decided matter, but open to discussion. However, in the author's opinion, consultations and debates on the final amounts of compensation should not stop the price rises. The compensation, Jerzy Bielecki concludes in his commentary, could, after all, be paid in advance, on account, as with old-age and disability pensioners. Let it be soon, for every wasted loaf is a pity.

DOMESTIC TRADE MINISTRY FORECAST ON FOOD SUPPLIES

LD271644 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] The dramatic situation in the supply of food causes us to await with hope for a change for the better as a result of this year's harvest. The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, in concert with food producers, already worked out a preliminary forecast for the supply of the 49 most important articles.

It emerges from the forecasts that we can expect quite a significant improvement in the group of products which base their production on potatoes. According to preliminary estimates, the sugar campaign ought to bring in 1,650,000 tons of sugar. Thus one can also think of an increase in ration norms, as well as of supplying industry with the essential raw material for producing chocolate products, sweets and cakes.

The situation appears far more difficult as regards the supply of meat and meat products, and of vegetable fats. If the present level of procurement is maintained in the fourth quarter too, the chances of a departure from the reduced rations will, unfortunately, be minimal. The previous butter rations will also be preserved. Supplies of fish also look unfavorable. However, a certain improvement ought to occur in cigarette supplies.

COMMISSION DISCUSSES MARKET SUBSIDIES, RATIONING

LD270820 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 26 Aug 81

[Text] During the session of the Council of State Commission for People's Councils Affairs held yesterday [26 August] the councils' activities aimed at protecting the market and supplies to the population were discussed. The basis of the discussion was a speech by minister of domestic trade and services, Zygmunt Lakomiec, who outlined the present market situation. It appears that the most difficult situation prevails in the meat market. With procurement falling, there is no basis for (?such) favorable forecasts. In September the sale of detergent powders for coupons will begin. The ministry also proposed that soap rationing be introduced. An appeal was made to the consumers' and women's organization for consultation on the introduction of a more rational system for the sale of the presently limited number of articles of personal hygiene for women. The minister reported that the government is soon to consider changes in the principles of the functioning of (?domestic) trade.

Speaking at the end of the session, Deputy Premier Stanislaw Mach acquainted these present with the economic forecasts for the coming months. The announcement that the mining industry will work eight free Saturdays is regarded as important.

With regard to the difficult economic situation, it is anticipated that there will be a temporary immobilization of many enterprise whose production is energy-intensive. As of 1 October, as the deputy premier stated, we will receive 1.5 kg of sugar monthly. The struggle against speculation will continue to be carried out with total consistency.

STATE PRICE COMMISSION FOOD PRICE HIKES COMMUNIQUE

AU261722 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24 Aug 81 pp 1,2

["The State Price Commission's Communique on Increases in Retail Prices for Bread and Flour Products"]

[Text] The State Price Commission has issued a communique on increases in the retail prices of bread and cereal products and intends to introduce them as of 1 September 1981. The communique details the proposals for new retail prices and states the principles of compensation.

The present average prices for the aforementioned products [as published] are: Z9.80, Z8.75, Z18.90 and Z10 respectively. The new average prices for bread will be Z21.20, for flour Z24, for groats and noodles Z23.50, for macaroni Z45, and for rice Z30. This means that the monthly expenditure on these articles will increase Z114 for bread, Z15.05 for flour, Z11 for groats and noodles, Z5.20 for macaroni and Z3.40 for rice. The overall increase in this expenditure amounts to Z148.65.

To compensate the people for this increase, every person will receive Z150 a month; but retirees receiving pensions amounting to no more than Z3,500 a month and people who receive assistance from the social fund and alimony fund will receive Z200 a month each.

The basic compensation of Z150 was calculated on the basis of research into the individual consumption of bread in 6,400 households. This consumption involves breads and macaronis.

As a result of that research, bread consumption has been raised from 8 to 10 kg since the shortages in other foodstuffs have boosted bread consumption. The consumption of other foods (flour, groats, noodles and rice) was calculated on the strength of the present rations.

The sum of Z150 is the basis of compensation. For example, a working couple will receive Z300 a month, a family of three Z450, a family of four Z600, and so on. If a member of a family receives a pension amounting up to Z3,500 the sum of compensation will be correspondingly higher. The following are entitled to compensation:

--Workers of socialized factories;

--Recipients of all pensions;

--Those members of families supported by the two foregoing categories of persons who are entitled to family allowances and those members who are not entitled to family allowances, but who are unable to work due to age and health reasons;

--Scholarship holders and pupils employed on the strength of the contract on vocational training;

--Persons who are supported by the social fund and alimony fund;

--Mothers who receive allowances for children's upbringing;

--Other persons who are listed in the rider issued by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs.

The first payment of compensation to the workers and their families, scholarship holders and pupils will be made when the wages (grants) are paid for the first time after new food prices have been introduced. All retirees will receive compensation when they are paid their pensions in September.

Before the Social Security Agency [ZUS] has finally worked out the compensation scheme, which will take 2-3 months for technical reasons, retirees will receive a lump sum of Z600 as an initial compensatory payment.

The rider of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs lists detailed principle and procedure of compensation payments.

The present consultations with trade unions make it possible to state that everyone recognizes that it is necessary to raise the price of breads and cereal products. Nor is there any principled objection to the amount of compensation. However, people differ on whether compensation should be equal for everyone and should be scaled in line with individual earnings, pensions, per capita income, energy expenditure, the age of children and youths and so on.

For example, the Center for Social and Vocational Work run by the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity proposed the following system of compensation on 8 August:

I. Compensation depending on monthly wages: Z200 for wages up to Z4,000; Z180 for wages between Z4,001 and Z5,000; Z150 for wages between Z5,001 and Z7,000; Z120 for wages between Z7,001 and Z10,000; Z100 for wages over Z10,000.

II. Compensation depending on monthly pensions and annuities: Z200 for pensions up to Z2,300; Z180 for pensions between Z2,300 and Z2,500; Z160 for pensions between Z2,501 and Z3,000; Z150 for pensions between Z3,001 and Z4,000; Z120 for pensions between Z4,001 and Z6,000; Z100 for pensions over Z6,000.

III. Compensatory increases in family allowances:

1. Z120 for children up to 6 years of age and Z100 for children over 6 years of age;

2. Z150 for the other dependents of a family--both working and retirees.

IV: Students and pupils who receive study grants and whose families do not receive family allowances receive a compensation of Z180.

V. Pupils receiving wages under training receive a compensation of Z180.

VI. People receiving assistance from social funds receive a compensation of Z200.

VII. Retired farmers receive a compensation of Z150.

The draft of compensation submitted to the trade unions has been accepted by the Consultative Commission of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and by the Confederation of the Autonomous Trade Unions. The State Price Commission states that the proposals presented by the Solidarity Center for Social and Vocational Work with regard to differentiated compensation are acceptable on the condition that all trade unions arrive at an agreed position on this issue. This will take time, however, because a radical modification of the compensation system is, for technical reasons, impossible to carry out at once. Every employee, retiree and child would have to be registered individually, depending on wages, age and so on.

Because of the particular urgency of the need to stop the waste of breads and cereal products and because of the impossibility of further increasing the milling of grains and the baking of bread, the State Price Commission proposes that the prices in question be changed as of 31 August 1981 and states that the proposed compensation system can be modified, depending on the discussion, which the decision on price increases has not ended.

Aside from that, the State Price Commission will instruct scientific units to sound out the society on this issue. The new retail prices will make it possible to introduce new economic principles into the grain-milling and baking industry. In line with the tenets of the economic reform, which stipulate self-government, independence and self-financing, the new principles of that industry's performance will become valid as of 1 October 1981.

After new retail prices have been introduced, the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services will closely watch the market situation of cereal products and--depending on demand--will make the decision on whether to abolish their rationing.

GLEMP SERMON ON RESPONSIBILITY, APPEAL FOR CALM

LD271006 Warsaw PAP in English 0809 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug (PAP)--Following are excerpts (in unofficial translation) from the sermon delivered by the Polish Primate Jozef Glemp at the Jasna Fora Monastery, Czestochowa, today:

"One of our biggest faults is the loss of the sense of responsibility. Actually this phenomenon transcends the concept of personal fault since it has turned into a sort of incorrigible style of social life.

"A responsible person is he who possesses the sense of one's own freedom and dignity. A society is also responsible when it treasures its dignity, national pride and freedom. No one can free us from this responsibility to fellow countrymen and history."

"Responsibility also amounts to the recognition of one's mistakes and guilts. Let me recall the sermon delivered a year ago at Czestochowa by the late Primate Stefan Wyszynski, a sermon which aroused even controversy but was the voice of a churchman who felt responsible and wanted to awaken responsibility. The late primate said, "Responsibility is common. Why? Because guilt is also common...This may be the guilt of violating man's personal rights, guilt resulting from absence of defence of our rights, lack of social consciousness, peculiar indifference and insensitivity to the common good.' So much for the late primate.

"As matters stand here, there is a division into two social groups, each of them pleading its innocence while pointing to the mistakes, guilts and sins of the other side. Suffice it to switch on the television or the radio to hear how one virtuous and saintly side is condemning the wrongdoing and arrogance of the other. The other side in turn deprived of access to the same media specializes either in caricatures or not infrequently abusive words or, prodded by the instinct of self-preservation, resorts to measures termed as 'ultimate'. And this is how the game goes on. Tensions and emotions are rising while poverty is lurking in the corner ready to jump inside. Meanwhile, the wrestlers bid it to wait until one of them emerges victorious and will drive poverty out. This is no good. All of us, together, must drive poverty out.

"Let us, brothers, inform ourselves honestly to avoid unnecessary bitterness and excitement.

"Let's look at ourselves in truth. We shall see then our sins, our guilt and our negligence and this will allow us to see the good actions of the opposite side provided the criterion of the assessment is the good of the entire nation and not that of one group only. It is only then that we shall begin to respect each other and start a constructive dialogue. We must not slander each other, even by drawings. Some people are prepared to pay much money to see their caricature in a magazine, such as the Parisian LE FIGARO for that matter. But when this is not the wish of the person concerned this should be respected. Every person has his dignity, and we should especially respect the dignity of our opponent.

No sensible Pole today is unaware of the fact that the road to overcoming the crisis lies in work. The whole issue amounts to organisation of work so that he who works perceives the sense and result of his efforts. Such person will be ready for sacrifices, prepared to work hard and accept price increases and, also, pay tribute to the motherland when necessary. Our history knows many such cases. Therefore one must become aware of these values which lift our spirit."

"Let us recall the somewhat embarassing facts of money raised abroad to pay for the purchase and transport of food for Poland. Appreciating the efforts made by unknown persons in the name of human solidarity, we should raise our own resourcefulness so as not to overuse human goodness.

"Let us think of Poland in the year 2000, a country ruled by law, well managed and respected in the world--Poland in which Christ and Mary are revered. Step by step we must approach the vision of such Poland clearly held before our eyes, and we must not give up this ambition.

"Next year we shall again play host to our beloved countryman, Pope John Paul II."

"Each community needs leadership, prestige and authorities. The church many a time sized up the authority, pointing to the limits and the way of its operation.

"Our experiences from the past made us sensitive to the authority. It used to be shrouded in mystery. Meanwhile, the authority is not a taboo but an institution serving a nation. The authority is necessary and is to be for everybody and not for a definite group of citizens.

"In our history, we have already experienced the period when one said that anarchy was rampant in Poland. This institution of no-rule lasted for a short period. It ended in the greatest tragedy, over 100-year bondage. It is a painful warning for us.

"Proposals have been made to spend a definite number of days in peace. I would like to resume this appeal. However, I would like to go further in my appeal and to ask not only for quiet days in September but also for days of a quiet September prayer."

TRYBUNA LUDU DISCUSSES RENEWAL OF UNITY FRONT

PM271134 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Aug 81 p 3

[Zbigniew Siedlecki article: "Forum of Polish Democracy']

[Text] Is it possible to create in Poland in 1981 a front which would ensure--despite profound differences in views on economic, social and ideological questions--unity of action by all significant sociopolitical forces?

Yes. It is. A positive answer to this question is warranted by the way in which the events of the past year have unfolded. In view of the fact that during such stormy times, so full of tensions and occasionally even dramatic conflicts, it has always proved possible to avoid confrontation and reach agreement, there can be no doubt that it is possible to institutionalize the mechanisms of this agreement and give them an organizational form. Furthermore, all sociopolitical forces which have the welfare of People's Poland at heart--even though their concepts of it may differ--are indeed dutybound to seek to create such a form. This is our national opportunity. There can be no doubt that anyone seeking to destroy it would be condemned by history.

However, in view of the complexity of the situation, it is difficult, even very difficult, to exploit this opportunity. First of all, the National Unity Front [FJN] is not deemed by the great majority of our people to be of any political significance.

In making this drastic statement I realize how painfully and undeservedly it is bound to hurt FJN Committee activists at all levels. For, after all, they have worked--sometimes for many years--believing that their work is necessary to the country, sparing neither their own time, nor effort, nor nervous energy, often to the detriment of their health. Obviously, some opportunists and careerists have crept in among them, in the same way that they have infiltrated some other socially active circles. However, any generalizations in this respect would violate the principle of objective judgment and, more especially, would be unjust to many honest and selfless FJN activists.

These activists must not be blamed for any distortion of the front's political concept. For this is a direct result of the autocratic nature not only of the E. Gierek-P. Jaroszewicz team's rule but also of W. Gomulka's working methods in the late sixties. As a result, the FJN has long been a facade which primarily concealed violations of the principle of partnership in the realtions between the PZPR and the allied political parties. It would be possible to venture the assertion that the FJN has, in fact, been the most faithful image of the theatricality of political life in Poland in the seventies. And the staging of carefully directed idyllic political scenes has probably, in fact, brought discredit to that organization.

Objective Assessment

Since the front has lost its political content, its activists have directed their attention toward concrete social objectives. It is true that these objectives were small-scale as seen in terms of everyday life in Poland, though they were of very essential significance to it. In that sphere--initiation of social work and its management--FJN activists have considerable achievements to their credit which are worthy of respect and should encourage them to continue with their efforts.

However, even these achievements have, in a sense, harmed the front, because they have emphasized the existing discrepancy between great official political aims and real small-scale activities and have helped to propagate the belief that there is no need for an FJN which is merely involved in local self-government and tree planting, though both local self-government and tree planting are socially well-founded activities.

During the past year, profound political transformations have taken place which have been based on a consistent democratization of public life. This democratization has not only formal--though its formal aspect should not be underestimated, among other things, because it has created a legal guarantee that no political crises will recur--but primarily practical. It has been expressed by large-scale activities on the part of self-governing and independent social--professional, environmental and so forth--organizations. However, these transformations have not affected the FJN, which has remained unchanged, like a desert island in Poland's political waters. As a result of the fact that it has not joined the mainstream of transformations, it has, in fact, been eliminated from political life and this has, as it were, demonstrated its uselessness.

The FJN's virtual absence from the public arena has led to a distortion of the picture of Polish public life. For any observer may gain the impression (and indeed this is how most commentators in the bourgeois press have assessed the situation) that it has taken the form of a contest between the government (which is an extension of the PZPR) and Solidarity. In fact, however, the demarcation lines in the political sphere extend not only between these two poles but are infinitely more complex because--if for no other reason--of the presence of allied parties, Catholic groups and many small but influential self-governing professional and environmental organizations which are very important elements in Polish democracy.

Krakow Initiatives

All this does not mean that the subject of the FJN has been ignored in the post-August period. In the spring of 1981, the FJN National Committee organized a discussion on the subject of the front's future. It is true that, despite its organizers' efforts, not all who should have participated in it did so and that it was tantamount to an informal exchange of views, but it nonetheless proved rather productive. I believe that it has stimulated debates on the subject in Catholic circles--as frequently exemplified by SLOWO POWSZECHNE--and provided an incentive for regional FJN Committees to seek new solutions to the problems confronting them. The efforts made by the Krakow Committee, which has already made considerable achievements in this sphere, deserve attention.

A clear lack of interest in the concept of the front does not mean at all that it has been underestimated by prominent political forces in Poland. This lack has merely been a result of the situation in which the PZPR, which was naturally duty bound to show initiative with respect to this very important matter, was in the process of determining its attitude prior to the ninth extraordinary congress (a subject which I discussed during the above-mentioned debate). It had first to resolve its own fundamental problems and it should be remembered that a ruling party's problems are of national interest. Only now has the ninth congress' resolution--to be more precise, point 26 of it--made such an initiative possible.

Solidarity is still in the process of self-determination and its internal contradictions are increasing rather than diminishing. Let us hope, howeve , that even if it does not complete this process of self-determination the coming national congress will accelerate it to such a degree that Solidarity will be able to determine its attitude toward the front.

A Political Institution

Let us now consider the most important contents of the proposal included by the PZPR in the resolution adopted by the ninth extraordinary congress.

First of all, what is clear is that the front is seen as a preeminently political organization. "The FJN" the resolution stated, "could well be the workshop where the attitude of a considerable majority of our community toward the country's fundamental problems is formed. This will strengthen the front's position as regards the adoption of candidates for the Sejm and regional councils, in accordance with the democratic principles." The resolution also determined the way in which such political activities should be pursued. The FJN, the resolution continues, "represents an important forum for dialogue and cooperation between the PZPR, ZSL and SD and all the patriotic forces seeking to strengthen and develop socialism in Poland and believing that the service of nation and state is a fundamental civic duty...."

A programmatic acknowledgement of differences of opinions and an opening of its doors as wide as possible is a second, extremely important feature of a renewed front, as determined in the ninth congress' resolution, which reads: "The FJN program accepts differences of views and outlooks on life and determines the broadcast possible limits of cooperation for all political, social and religious forces abiding by the constitution...." "This means that everybody who respects the Polish raison d'etat and is not oppose to socialism -- that is accepts the social ownership of the fundamental means of production and the principle of social justice -- may engage in activities within the front framework. Only people whose activities are motivated by non-Polish considerations and how show hostility toward socialism cannot join the front.

The formula "political, social and religious forces...." deserves attention. It is a clear invitation to cooperation within the front framework addressed to the Catholic and other churches. For indeed in Poland, where believers constitute the majority of the population and where the church exerts wide social influence (which has been utilized very positively in the stormy situation which has prevailed in the past 12 months or so) the presence -- whether direct or indirect -- of representatives of the church in the front is a prerequisite for its representativeness and correct functioning. As a result, our FJN would have an opportunity to become a significant forum in the world for dialogue and political cooperation between Marxists and Catholics, a cooperation which would fully respect the ideological individuality of all partners.

While determining the PZPR's fundamental and general attitude toward the front, the resolution adopted by the ninth congress left unresolved the problem of transformations which would enable the front to pursue its activities under the conditions prevailing since last August. All this especially concerns the fronts' name and that name's real significance.

It seems obvious that the emphasis placed on national unity by the front's name is reminiscent of the kind of window dressing which occurred in the past. If we want to treat the word "unity" seriously we should relate it to an intention instread of a state already achieved, since otherwise this is bound to lead to misunderstandings that demand expalanations. During the above-mentioned discussion, the proposal that the organization be called the "National Understanding Front" has been opposed by no one. I believe that in times when the line of understanding prevails in Polish public life, such a proposal deserves friendly consideration. It is true that what is important is the content, not the name and that therefore it would certainly be nonsensical to start controversies about the name but in this case, conformity of form with content is of some importance, especially if we recall the past.

This also concerns the front's sphere of activities and especially, its methods. I believe that these will be determined not so much during the discussion about the concept of a renewed front as in practice during the performance of its duties. However, it is worth paying attention to a new development stemming from the post-August change in the conditions governing public life. In the seventies, these were characterized by centralization, which, among other things, deprived regional centers of initiative in such a way that they merely reflected the center imitating, sometimes even in a caricatural form, its activities.

The situation in Poland now varies greatly from region to region. This has caused considerable surprise not only to foreigners but also to Polish people traveling in their own country. Not all these differences deserve approval -- I refer here especially to differences in the supply network which are extremely disadvantageous to big industrial centers. However, a positive attitude should be adopted toward differences which are a result of renewed initiative and inventiveness. It is impossible to resolve situations, tensions and conflicts stemming from such differences in accordance with a single central model -- they must be resolved in a specific, individual and nonstandard manner.

As a result of this state of affairs, the importance of regional FJN committees has considerably increased. They have had to become more self-reliant since they have no longer been able to refer any matter to somebody else's decision. It can be expected, therefore, that in practice both the front's sphere of activities and its methods will mainly take shape at a regional level and that, consequently, its work will be very comprehensive.

As a result of the fact that they will have to become self-reliant, all FJN branches, even those which in the past awoke from their slumber only when elections were in sight, are bound to become active. Furthermore, I can detect something more ensuing from the front's diversity and self-reliance and the discovery of its own inner sources of political activity. In fact, I can detect a safeguard against the possibility of a reversion to the spurious or occasional activities and political sterility as a result of which the FJN was, in fact, eliminated from Polish public life in the seventies.

Concept of Understanding

In conclusion, I would like to refer to an idea which I mentioned at the beginning of my article when I explained why a positive answer should be given to the question of whether unity of action can be achieved despite profound differences. I am writing this at a time when the Solidarity National Consultative Commission Presidium has just broken off its talks with the government -- that is, when social tension is at its highest. I realize, however, that by the time this article is published the situation will have changed. The present conflict will undoubtedly have been resolved, though it cannot be ruled out that a new one will be arising.

The development of events in the past 12 months or so is beyond the comprehension of people who are not conversant with Polish affairs from the inside since they find it difficult to understand why, in a situation where the logic of events seems bound to lead to confrontation, agreements are concluded at the very last moment and why the expected explosion does not occur. Especially since these events have been taking place in a country which has been known in Europe as the scene of such explosions.

This phenomenon can be completely explained neither by the PZPR's consistent, even inflexible efforts to reach an agreement nor by the working masses impressive ability to organize themselves. I believe that something that lies in the deepest recesses of the Polish people's national consciousness has been a determining factor. I refer to the desire to subordinate any differences, disputes and conflicts to superior national interests which have indissolubly linked independence with social progress, a desire stemming from the tragic and bloody events which have occurred in our history.

This is why it has always been possible in the past 12 months or so, to stay in time the hand of fanatics, extremists and people prompted by immoderate ambition, of whom there is no lack on either side. And this is why the concept of understanding has prevailed. I have no doubt that this is also why we will be able to turn a renewed front into a political forum for Polish democracy.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON 1956 POLITICAL 'THAW'

AU271315 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22-23 Aug 81 pp 3, 6

[Marian Nowinski article in the series "Discussions, Polemics": "About the 'Precursors' of Thaw and Renewal"]

[Text] KULTURA has published four installments of an article about the people from PO PROSTU [plainly]. I am astonished by this journalism. After all, I have read and I know the contents of the PO PROSTU weekly. I am astonished by the unconcern with which the women authors [autorki] of the history of that weekly and the people they interview, ignore or minimize some issues and exaggerate and interpret in a most peculiar manner the events and sociopolitical manifestations of as few as 25 years ago. I do not intend to polemize with what has so far been published about the history of PO PROSTU, which contains many half-truths. What I want to draw your attention to in the first place is the peculiar view of the origins of the "thaw" movement in 1956.

This issue was presented in more detail by the third installment of that article published in KULTURA (issue 22 of 31 May 1981). Its authors maintain that, if it is at all possible to establish when the "thaw" in question began in Poland, it really began when party aktivs were shocked by Swiatlo's revelations. Let us add that this is the Jozef Swiatlo who was deputy department head in the Ministry of Public Security up to December 1953, who fled abroad and who there revealed his shameful practices. It must be conceded that these are intriguing and shocking revelations about revelations.

The authors of the article in question also established the second stream of the "thaw." "At the beginning of 1955 Jerzy Morawski was promoted to Central Committee secretary and responsible for the ideological front," the authors state and let Jerzy Morawski speak for himself: "A period was beginning to emerge," he reminisces, "when it was possible to relax the hold on things, and I continued to relax it with great satisfaction because it suited me psychologically and mentally. Journalists used to attend the Central Committee conferences and were pleased that various activities were allowed. In fact, they had to be encouraged to publish more information about the events in the country."

"In this way KULTURA has brought to light the two chief sponsors and authors of the 1956 "thaw" process. The first is Jozef Swiatlo, who inspired that process via Radio Free Europe, and the other is Jerzy Morawski, who inspired it from within the Central Committee. Someone may say: These are big words and nonsense. No, we cannot afford to ignore it because it is a false presentation of the most recent history.

Is it possible that those authors do not know that Jozef Swiatlo betrayed our country and fled secretly abroad not in order to disclose the "revelations" that allegedly had initiated the "thaw"? The fact is that Swiatlo fled only when his scandalous activities in the Ministry of Public Security and those of the people like him began to be critically analyzed and it was found out that many crooks, including Swiatlo, had penetrated the corridors of power, greatly abusing it to the great detriment of People's Poland and socialism. Swiatlo fled the country to avoid responsibility for his evil doings, and, when abroad, he resorted to the popular trick of "stop thief!".

Swiatlo committed lawless deeds and helped arrange many trials that sent innocent people to jail for many years or even to the gallows. Public opinion still continues to be scandalized by all that. Having fled the country, Swiatlo kept broadcasting about his dirty work via radio stations and writing about it in newspapers, which was good business for him. Yet those authors of the PO PROSTU series try to credit him with the "thaw" process. It has to be conceded that Swiatlo had a great head for business, a splendid businessman.

This is what many extreme and enthusiastic Stalinists from 1949-55 are also trying to do. Jerzy Morawski is precisely such a political turncoat, one who counts himself among the first "thaw" promoters.

He asserts that even in 1955 he "sensed changes in the air" and that is why he was so pleased to "relax the hold" on the press. But what is the truth?

The process of the "thaw" in 1956 began with the disputes on many issues that arose in the party leadership, the Politburo and the party Secretariat in 1953. These disputes intensified and in time resulted in the establishment of two groups--the so-called Pulawy Group and the Natolin Group. Morawski has a good knowledge of that. The "Pulawy" Group led by Edward Ochab was in theory for social and economic changes and for democracy in life, but it did not want any personal changes in leading party and state positions, although its members had committed all the political and economic errors that caused the Poznan events.

The "Natolin" Group took the view that democratization was impossible if the people who were responsible for abuses of the law and various errors were to be in charge of it. This group demanded that the people bearing chief responsibility for distortions and errors of party policy be brought to account. "There were and are among us people," Feliks Baranowski said in 1956, "who believed that we should not feel guilty for that previous dreary period and that it is wrong to hold individuals responsible for it. Most Central Committee members took the view that the program of the seventh plenum (July 1956) could be implemented by the old individuals bearing responsibility for the previous period. Some Central Committee members did not agree with such a view but, unfortunately, they were in the minority."

Feliks Baranowski, and other comrades, earned the title of "demagogue" and "conservative" for their views and were, of course, relegated to the sidelines. It was not until now--25 years later--that his position was acclaimed: He was invited to the Ninth PZPR Congress and was granted a passive electoral right as a meritorious veteran of the workers movement.

In addition, the "Natolin" Group demanded radical changes in social policy, which was reflected especially in the demands submitted by Wiktor Klosiewicz, chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, who demanded that the workers' conditions be improved rapidly and tangibly. We demanded that up to Z20 billion be set aside for this purpose. The "Natolin" Group's demands included political rehabilitation for Wladyslaw Gomulka and a "Polish road to socialism."

In the disputes, or actually in the political struggle between the two groups, Jerzy Morawski was entirely engaged on the "Pulawy" side. He unequivocally manifested that in his pronoucements. "The Golmulka group advocated the Polish road to socialism," PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jerzy Morawski wrote. "Not that the slogan itself was false," he explained, "but the class substance the Gomulka group put into that slogan: Slowing down the process of revolutionary changes, freezing the disposition of class forces in the countryside, and slowing down the process of basic changes not only in the economy, but also in culture and education. In its essence, it was not a variant of the Soviet road," Morawski asserted, "but an opposition to it, and objectively signified a negation of any road to socialism" (quoted from TRYBUNA LUDU No 85 of 26 March 1956).

That is the true interpretation of Jerzy Morawski's "thaw" endeavors. And 4 months later he assesses, from his "thaw" position, the June events in Poznan, saying in particular: "The bloody incidents in Poznan were brought about by the enemy, by underground counterrevolutionary forces drawing their inspiration from alien sources hostile to Poland. We were taken by surprise, our vigilance was dormant. Hence the bloody finale which we were unable to prevent in time." (quoted from NOWE DROGI No 76-8 offered for sale after 20 August 1956). That is what that "giving rein" to the press by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jerzy Morawski looked like.

On the other hand, Wiktor Klosiewicz from the "Natolin" Group, which was accused by Morawski of dogmatism, factionalism and conservatism, at the same time assessed the Poznan drama quite differently. "For the trade unions, what is the general conclusion from the Poznan events?", Klosiewicz wrote.

"There is no doubt whatever that the course of those events, painful to every worker, was evidence of serious deficiencies in our work, of our rather poor awareness of the needs of the masses and, in consequence, of the moods of the masses, as well as evidence of the fact that we were unable to efficiently defend the working people's interests against bureaucratic vices." (quoted from TRYBUNA LUDU No. 233 of 21 August 1956)

However, how did it happen that the entire "Pulawy" Group under Edward Ochab and Roman Zambrowski, a group that even in August resolutely turned down the "Polish way to socialism" and firmly opposed Wladyslaw Gomulka's return to active political life, suddenly cropped up in Gomulka's close circle and, in October 1956, began to enhance the "thaw" process?

Persons such as Jerry Morawski took pains to falsify the truth about the "thaw" process, and even today those pains are being taken, apparently also on the occasion of piecing together the history of the weekly PO PROSTU.

The truth is that, in the summer and early in the fall of 1956, the moods of the party membership masses and of the public at large, particularly affected by the June events in Poznan, departed more and more from the policy pursued by Edward Babiuch, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and his "Pulawy" Group, and the importance of the "Natolin" Group was growing. Party organizations more and more persistently and frequently demanded not only Wladyslaw Gomulka's return to active political life, but also proposed that he take over the functions of the PZPR Central Committee first secretary or (Council of State) chairman. There were hopes that this personnel change would bring about a change in party policy, particularly in the economic policy.

The "Pulawy" Group realized that it was losing the ground under its feet and was on the wrong side. In that unfavorable situation, it made a sudden turn in personnel policy. It rushed with full impetus to Gomulka, outdoing the "Natolin" Group in support of Gomulka's candidacy to the office of PZPR Central Committee first secretary. The "Pulawians" turned from Gomulka's staunchest and most bitter opponents and enemies into his adherents and most zealous admirers who accused the "Natolin" Group of social demagogy, dogmatism and of all the evils occurring at that time in the party and the country. And that nonsense is still being repeated on the occasion of portraying the PO PROSTU people. Following Jerzy Morawski, the ladies who wrote that work say that Zenon Nowak was one of the "conservative leaders" (KULTURA No 26 of 28 June 1981). Was he found to be conservative just because he demanded that those who committed mistakes and abused the law be brought to account and punished? Zenon Nowak actually was and remained until his death a righteous and morally irreproachable communist.

Jerzy Morawski really gave rein to the press, not in order to bring to account those guilty of committing mistakes and offenses. But against the "Natolin" Group who demanded bringing persons who committed mistakes to account and to punish those who abused power, precisely such impostors as Swiatlo. Thus extreme Stalinists, owing to their extraordinary cunning, impertinence and lack of any moral scruples, within a few weeks became great "democrats" and at Gomulka's side "pursued the thaw policy."

It is no wonder that old mistakes were repeated under the new conditions. They were committed again by persons who, in 1956, were not brought to account. They were successively removed from power only later.

At present those defaulters and their children are trying to pose as harbingers of social progress and humanism. They are trying to prove that in the past they were always champions of democracy, the most talented persons predestined to control political, social and economic life, but their opponents--formerly conservatives and now, for a change, those who are "mutton-headed" and "hardliners"--bar them from carrying out that mission.

That is precisely the type of people rallying in particular in the subversive organization, the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], which tries to turn the workers Solidarity into an adventurist trade union and to oppose it to people's rule. Those political dealers and false friends of the Polish workers class will sooner or later be finally unmasked. However, for this purpose the history of People's Poland, among other things, must be portrayed truthfully.

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACKS

AU271350 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Romania's news agency AGERPRES has been authorized to declare the following:

Romanian public opinion has learned with profound indignation about the extensive military attacks and the violation of the ground and air space committed by the South African racist regime against the territory of the People's Republic of Angola--an independent and sovereign country.

The Romanian people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania very firmly condemn these aggressive new actions of the South African minority regime which is a brutal expression of the policy of violating elementary norms and principles of international law and an expression of the insolent continuation of provocative actions against certain independent and sovereign African states and a defiance of the decisions adopted by the United Nations regarding southern Africa.

The current aggressive acts by the Pretoria racists, in which important military forces and modern military mass destruction equipment are engaged and in which both regular South African troops and mercenaries are taking part, considerably aggravate the situation in southern Africa, deepen the state of tension and conflict in that part of the world and add new elements of tension to international life.

Stirring a strong protest wave throughout the world and condemned by all the international community, the Pretoria regime's military attacks are an expression of the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, being also directly aimed against the just struggle waged by the Namibian people under the South-West African People's Organization--SWAPO--to end the illegal occupation of Namibia and achieve that people's sacred right to an independent and free life in keeping with their legitimate aspirations for independently deciding their own destiny.

The Romanian Government and people, by very firmly condemning South Africa's irresponsible aggression, demand that South African troops be withdrawn rapidly from Angolan territory and that any military acts threatening the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Angola should be halted immediately and unconditionally, that any signs of force against the African countries should be stopped and that the illegal occupation of Namibia should be ended, so that the Namibian people are able to freely and firmly exercise their right to self-determination within a uniform state and protected from any outside interference in their domestic affairs.

At the same time, the Romanian Government and people reassert their complete solidarity with the friendly Angolan people in their just struggle waged against the Pretoria racists' aggression and support the efforts of that country's government to repulse the South African invasion.

CEAUSESCU GREETS SWAPO'S NUJOMA, CITES SOLIDARITY

AU271050 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Sam Nujoma, chairman of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), Luanda.

On the fifth anniversary of the Namibian people's armed struggle, under SWAPO leadership, from the domination of the South African oppressive and racist regime, on behalf of the RCP, the Romanian people and on my own behalf, I want to extend warm congratulations to you, the SWAPO militants and fighters and to the friendly Namibian people, as well as wishes for new successes in the struggle to achieve the aspirations for freedom and the country's early national independence.

Owing to their own centuries-old struggles for social and national liberation, which were full of sacrifices, the Romanian people have from the very beginning, fully supported and have shown militant solidarity with the political and diplomatic struggle, waged, arm in hand, by the Namibian people under SWAPO leadership to win their inalienable right to a free and independent life.

On the 15th anniversary of Namibia's day it is imperatively necessary to accelerate--together with the Namibian people's intensified struggle--efforts by all democratic and anti-imperialist forces and by international public opinion to put a halt to South African domination as soon as possible and to ensure Namibia's access to national independence.

In the spirit of lasting relations established between our parties and peoples and of the understandings concluded during the friendly meetings and talks we have had together, I want to assure you that the RCP, Socialist Romania and the Romanian people will continue to give their full support to the Nambian people to shorten the yoke of foreign domination and to achieve their aspirations for freedom, independence and progress.

In extending my greetings of friendship and solidarity, I want to express the firm conviction that the Namibian people's struggle under SWAPO leadership will soon achieve complete victory. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

OFFICIALS AT NATIONAL DAY PARADE LISTED

AU271230 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 pp 1,4

[Report on Bucharest parade on 23 August marking Romanian national day]

[Excerpts] The following comrades took seats in the official stand next to the party secretary general: Comrade Elena Ceausescu, Comrades Ilie Verdet, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Cornel Burtica, Virgil Cazacu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Janos Fazekas, Ludovic Fazekas, Cornelia Filipas, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Virgil Trofin, Stefan Voitec, Stefan Andrei, Emilian Dobrescu, Petru Enache, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Ion Ionita, Ana Muresan, Elena Nae, Constantin Olteanu, Cornel Onescu, Marin Radoi, Ioan Ursu, Richard Winter, Ilie Radulescu, members of the RCP Central Committee, of the State Council and of the government, veterans of the Romanian communist and workers movement, and leaders of mass and public organizations.

Along with members of our party-state leadership, seated in the official stand were Ilias Iliou, chairman of the Greek Democratic Left Union--E.D.A; Coldomiro Almeyda, secretary general of the Chilean Socialist Party; Haralambos Drakopoulos, secretary of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party (interior); 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism; Abdallah Ibrahim, secretary general of the National Union of the Moroccan People's Forces.

Seated in the stands in Aviators' Square were Tomio Nishizawa, deputy chairman of the Central Committee Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party; Maxim Gremetz, secretary of the PCF [French Communist Party] Central Committee; Alhaji Suleiman Takuma, national secretary of the Nigerian National Party; Simon Sanchez Montero, member of the Executive Committee and Central Committee secretary of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE]; Marcelino Camacho, member of the PCE Executive Committee and secretary general of the trade union Confederation of Workers' Councils; Almeida Santos, member of the Permanent Commission of the Political Commission of the Portuguese Socialist Party; Dan Lundrup, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Danish Communist Party; Ousmane Seydi, member of the Politburo of the Senegalese Socialist Party and deputy chairman of the National Assembly;

Aleksandr Grigoriyevich Kornilov, deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet and second secretary of the CPSU Vologda Regional Committee, leader of the group of CPSU activists; the group of CCP activists led by Xu Mengxia, secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee; the group of activists of the Congolese Labor Party led by (Moyen Hubert), head of Party Protocol and by (Michel Ngkala), member of the party Central Committee and National Commander of the Congolese People's Militia; Fakri Farhud, member of the International Relations Commission of the Lebanese Communist Party; (Renzi Hourani), secretary of the Central Auditing Commission of the Israeli Communist Party; the group of activists of the Cuban Communist Party led by Claudio Ramos, sectionhead in the party Foreign Relations Department; the delegation of the Sofia BCP Municipal Committee led by Mitko Tenev, first secretary of the Khristo Botev District Party Committee of Sofia; members of the delegation of the Bulgarian town of Pravets and other foreign guests.

WORLD LEADERS GREET CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

CEMA's Fadeyev

AU271100 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of the CEMA Secretariat and on my own behalf, I want to congratulate you and all Romanian people on the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania--the 37th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke.

The working people of Romania under RCP leadership and in close cooperation with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries have achieved, in a short historical period, noteworthy successes in socioeconomic development, have built the basis of socialism and are now implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions regarding building the developed socialist society.

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania we wish the Romanian people new successes in implementing the great tasks set forth by the 12th RCP Congress and by you personally, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with much good health and new successes in your important activity to the benefit of the Romanian people and of strengthening the indestructible friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries and to the benefit of strengthening peace and social progress throughout the world,

With profound esteem,

[Signed] N. Fedeyev, CEMA secretary

PRC Leaders

AU271010 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 6

[Congratulatory message sent by PRC leaders to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Ilie Verdet on Romania's liberation day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the 37th anniversary of Romania's liberation, we want to extend, on behalf of the CCP, the Chinese Government, the Chinese people and on our own behalf, warmest congratulations on this holiday to you and through you to the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to the fraternal Romanian people.

The Romanian people, under RCP leadership, are celebrating their glorious anniversary with great achievements in all fields of struggle. We wholeheartedly wish that the Romanian people--who have always valued independence and autonomy--closely united with the RCP led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, will achieve new and constantly greater successes in implementing the grand program set forth by the 12th Party Congress.

A deep revolutionary friendship exists between the parties, countries and peoples of China and Romania. We are deeply convinced that our friendship will certainly experience a constant development and strengthening in the work of socialist construction and in the joint struggle against imperialism and for safeguarding world peace.

[Signed] Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee; Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC; and Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council of the PRC

Karmal's Greeting

AU271105 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I want to extend, on behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and on my own behalf, cordial comradely congratulations to you, dear comrade, to the RCP and the Romanian Government and people.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties, governments and peoples will develop and strengthen even more to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of consolidating peace in the world.

Please accept our best wishes for good health and success and for new progress and prosperity to the fraternal Romanian people.

[Signed] Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

Yugoslavia's Kraigher

AU271224 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with particular satisfaction I want to extend cordial congratulations to you, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, to the State Council and all Romanian people on behalf of the SFRY Presidium, the peoples and nations in Yugoslavia and on my own behalf, together with best wishes for the constant multifaceted development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and for new successes on the road of socialist construction and wishes for personal happiness for yourself.

I am convinced that the traditional friendship and multifaceted cooperation between our neighboring socialist countries will successfully continue to develop in the interests of our peoples and, at the same time, to the benefit of strengthening international cooperation on an equal footing and of the cause of socialism and overall world progress.

[Signed] Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidium

Mojsov Greets Ceausescu

AU271220 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general:

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania I want to extend cordial congratulations to you, the RCP Central Committee, to all communists and working people and to the friendly Romanian people, on behalf of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and on my own behalf, together with best wishes for the further successful development of your country on the road to socialism and its multifaceted prosperity.

I want to take this opportunity to express the conviction that friendly relations and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our neighboring socialist countries will successfully develop and progress in the interests of the Yugoslav peoples and the Romanian people and the cause of peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

[Signed] Lazar Mojsov, President of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee

Castro Sends Congratulations

AU271111 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

To Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, we take pleasure in extending to you, to the people, Communist Party, State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania fraternal greetings and sincere congratulations on behalf of the people, Communist Party, State Council and government of the Republic of Cuba.

We take the opportunity of this important anniversary to convey to you best wishes for new and great successes in implementing your important objectives for building the socialist society on Romanian soil. We also want to express our satisfaction with the development of cooperation and friendship between our peoples, parties, states and governments.

On the occasion of this anniversary we convey wishes for progress, well-being and peace to the Romanian people.

[Signed] Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, president of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba

Mongolian Leaders' Greetings

AU271126 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceauescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Ilie Verdet, Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the MPRP Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural and of the Council of Ministers of the MPR, Mongolian People's Republic of all Mongolian people and of ourselves we want to convey to you, and through you to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to all working people in Romania cordial congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your country's national anniversary--the 37th anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist domination.

In the years that have passed since then, the Romanian working people, led by the RCP and in close cooperation with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, have worked devotedly and have obtained great successes in all areas of socioeconomic and cultural life in their country, and have ensured the current rapid development of socialist Romania.

We note with satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples are developing year by year, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the interest of successfully building socialism in our countries.

On this noteworthy anniversary, we wish you, dear comrades and the fraternal Romanian people, new and great successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions on building the developed socialist society, and in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

[Signed] J. Tsedenbal, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the MPR; J. Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers

SRV Congratulations

AU271227 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the occasion of the 37th anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist domination, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the SRV and on our own behalf, we want to convey warmestcongratulations to you, and through you to the Romanian people, the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The Vietnamese people rejoice in the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in building socialism. The Socialist Republic of Romania is today a country with a modern industry, developed agriculture and advanced culture and science, and the people's living standard is continuously rising. On this great holiday, we wish the fraternal Romanian people, under the leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to continue to attain new and ever greater successes in implementing the tasks set by the 12th RCP Congress, in order to stimulate the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society in your beautiful country.

May friendship and cooperation between the Vietnamese and Romanian peoples increase and develop day by day, to the mutual benefit of our peoples and in the interest of socialism and peace in the world.

[Signed] Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee; Truong Chinh, president of the SRV State Council; Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Israel's Navon

AU271106 Bucharest S INTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 81 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the happy occasion of the national anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I take pleasure in conveying to your excellency sincere congratulations and warmest wishes for personal happiness and for progress and prosperity to your people, on behalf of the Israeli people and myself.

[Signed] Yitzhaq Navon, president of Israel

TANJUG URGES BELGIAN MEASURES AGAINST TERRORISTS

LD271532 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1322 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)--The people of Yugoslavia are bitter at the ill-intentions attempts to show the barbaric acts of groups of anti-Yugoslav emigrants in Belgium, which have met with unprecedented tolerance on the part of the competent authorities and a covering-up of the truth, as a settling of accounts between members of "various Yugoslav groups."

This is underlined in a TANJUG feature article motivated by the incomprehensibly tolerant attitude in dealing with terrorist attacks on official Yugoslav representatives and on Yugoslav workers temporarily employed in Belgium.

The author of the article, TANJUG's diplomatic editor Slobodan Lukic writes:

The West European public and press are being cautioned of this once again on account of the frequent terrorist acts perpetrated recently against Yugoslavia, its diplomatic representatives and offending Yugoslav citizens temporarily employed in Belgium. The people of Yugoslavia are, therefore, bitter at the ill-intentioned attempts to show the barbaric acts of groups of anti-Yugoslav emigrants in Belgium, which have met with unprecedented tolerance on the part of the competent authorities and a covering-up of the truth, as a settling of accounts between members of "various Yugoslav groups." It is even more difficult and distressing that some Brussels papers are even endeavouring to show the murder of Stojan Djeric, an official of the Yugoslav Embassy in Brussels, as a private settling of accounts. He is, allegedly "guilty" simply for being a citizen of Belgium, with which Yugoslavia maintains traditionally friendly relations, endeavouring to develop them further in all spheres, are probably aware that Yugoslavs temporarily employed in Belgium began to form their own clubs and associations as far back as at the beginning of the seventies. There are some 800 Yugoslav clubs and associations in Western Europe today. They have become the places where Yugoslav families gather together, where the children of Yugoslav workers receive supplementary education, where the [word indistinct] of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities are fostered. The competent governmental organs of the majority of Western European countries show full understanding for such activities and, in as far as they are able, offer them material and other assistance.

Such communities of Yugoslavia in Belgium have evidently become a thorn in the flesh for the extreme-anti-Yugoslav emigrants and the increasingly frequent targets for terrorist attacks, with the aid and support of conservative and reactionary forces. [Word indistinct] are Yugoslav diplomatic, commercial and other official representatives spared terrorist attacks. The Belgian public has been left without true information as to what lies behind all the terrorist acts perpetrated recently. They have not been informed as to who is leading the campaign against Yugoslavia nor who is setting fire to the shops and clubs of Yugoslav citizens. The competent Belgian authorities are, however, well aware that these are [word indistinct] of the extreme Albanian and irredentist emigrants. Within these groups are fascists, [word indistinct] and the so-called extreme left, which claims to have its [word indistinct] Marxism-Leninism but, it would seem, mostly in Tirana. They get together in the "Red Front". From time to time, groups of Quislings, Ustasha, Chetniks and other terrorists are recruited to the same task.

The people of Yugoslavia cannot but wonder at the fact that all this is happening in a democratic country as Belgium, that the Belgian authorities are tolerating such anti-Yugoslav terrorist activity and that a considerable section of the Belgian press is not reporting objectively on this subject.

The citizens of Yugoslavia would like to believe that the competent authorities in Belgium are beginning to realise that the [words indistinct] of these anti-Yugoslav groups is detrimental not only to Yugoslav-Belgian relations but also to security in Belgium itself. Yugoslavia is waiting for an end to [words indistinct] to the brutality of political terrorists which are not only enemies of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav-Belgian relations but also of the peace and security of Belgium itself. Yugoslavia rightfully demands an effective inquiry and that the perpetrators of the crimes be punished.

GOVERNMENT PROTESTS S. AFRICAN ACTIONS IN ANGOLA

LD272155 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 August (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav Government censures most sharply the flagrant agression by the racist regime of South Africa against the independent and nonaligned People's Republic of Angola and expresses the full support and solidarity of the nations and nationalities of the SFRY for the people of Angola in the defense of their national independence and sovereignty.

The Yugoslav Government asks that the world organization, in accordance with the UN Charter, censure the aggression which represents a serious threat to peace and security, not only in this region, but also more widely in the world, and it also asks that urgent and most forceful measures be taken with a view to the immediate withdrawal of the aggressor from the People's Republic of Angola.

The aggressive policy of the racist regime of South Africa, which with its heedless and crude violation of the norms of international life is threatening the independence and development of Angola and other neighboring countries, is aimed at annihilating the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] liberation movement, and at preventing the decolonization of Namibia.

Expressing deep concern, the Yugoslav Government on this occasion, too, points to the need for specific measures to be taken in order to suppress the aggressive policy of the South African regime as well as to the need for an urgent solution to the question of Namibia in accordance with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the OAU and the meetings of nonaligned countries.

CUBA'S ALARCON ARRIVES IN BELGRADE ON VISIT

FL271341 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada, alternate member of the PCC Central Committee and Cuba's vice foreign minister, has arrived in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, on an official visit. Alarcon traveled to that capital accompanied by a delegation of our country which will participate in a round table titled "Policies and the Nonaligned Movement in the Decade of the Eighties." The event will he held in Novi Sad, capital of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, from 28 to 31 August. The meeting is being sponsored by the Yugoslav Institute of Economics and Policy and magazine, INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

KOMUNIST INTERVIEWS MINIC ON NONALIGNMENT, DETENTE

LD272020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Aug (TANJUG)--Milos Minic, president of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, has given the paper KOMUNIST an interview on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Nonaligned Movement, in which he said:

Twenty years will have elapsed on 1 September since the first conference of the heads of state or government of nonaligned countries, which was held in Belgrade from 1-6 September 1961 and at which the Nonaligned Movement emerged on the international scene to have enormous influence on the development of every aspect of international relations during the ensuing two decades. The Belgrade conference proclaimed the nonaligned policy's fundamental principles and goals, which nonaligned countries were to struggle over for the two decades and which have continued until today to be the political foundation for all the documents and decisions and all the actions initiated and pursued by the Nonaligned Movement.

The struggle for these principles and goals is a struggle not only for the preservation of peace and security, but also for the building of the new international order--political, economic, information and so forth--based on respect for the fundamental principles of the policy of nonalignment and the UN Charter, and above all on the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, noninterference, nonuse of force, and so forth in relations between states. The struggle for new international relations, based on greater justice and equality, has been and remains to be the main strategic goal of the policy of nonalignment.

The Nonaligned Movement and its policy have emerged as an independent, nonbloc international force which came out resolutely against the cold war that started after World War II between the great powers--former allies against Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy [words indistinct].

At their first conference, nonaligned countries judged that the cold war, the division of the world into blocs and the rivalry and confrontation between the great powers and blocs over the spheres of interests and influence was leading to a new world nuclear war, a catastrophe which could destroy human civilization and mankind's existence. In opposition to this, nonaligned countries called for a halt to the cold war, relaxation of international tension, negotiations and seeking of accord on disputed questions in relations between states, building of active and peaceful coexistence, completion of decolonization and establishment of an international policy and strategy for the accelerated development of those countries whose economic development was lagging behind because of centuries of subjugation under the rule of the imperialist powers or for other historical reasons. The call to struggle against imperialism, colonialism, Neocolonialism, racism and any other form of domination, hegemony and inequality has been and remains to be at the top of the list of the militant goals and slogans of the Nonaligned Movement and its policy.

The movement and policy of nonalignment have become a force of attraction for all the countries which are determined to preserve their freedom and independence and refuse to be subordinated to or linked with the blocs and the great powers and which looked for and found in the Nonaligned Movement support for their independence and their aspiration to take part in international life on an equal footing with all other countries. From a total of 25 countries which took part in the first summit conference in Belgrade, the number of countries with full membership in the movement rose to 92 at the Havana conference. The ideas, goals and principles of nonaligned policy are acquiring ever increasing support outside the circles of nonaligned countries as well. This is evident from the number of countries which attend nonaligned countries' conferences as observers or invited guests, as well as from the ever increasing number of democratic and progressive parties which are in favor of the nonaligned policy or are extending support to the nonaligned policy.

Over the past two decades nonaligned countries have made an enormous contribution to the preservation of peace in the world, carrying out decolonization, democratization of international relations, support for the liberation struggle waged by nations against foreign subjugation, relaxation of international tension, building of peaceful coexistence, settling of international problems and crises, struggle against foreign interventions and interference in the internal affairs of independent countries, efforts to formulate new international norms in relations between nations and states, and strengthening the UN role in international relations.

The nonaligned countries have halted and prevented the division of the world into antagonistic military, political and economic blocs. The Nonaligned Movement has become an international force which, with the present balance of forces in the world, plays the role of a vital factor in maintaining the present unstable and fragile equilibrium, to which we may be grateful for the fact that world peace is still being maintained and that there has been no world catastrophe despite the extremely tense relations between the great powers and blocs and despite the terrifying race in nuclear and conventional arms.

Such a summary view of the past two decades of the activity of the Nonaligned Movement on the international scene will suffice to show all the greatness of the historical role which the movement and policy of nonalignment have played and are playing in the development of international relations.

A Decade Pregnant With Grave Threats to World Peace

What role will be played by the movement and policy of nonalignment in the eighties, in other words in the ninth decade of this century or third decade of the existence of an organized Nonaligned Movement?

The answer to this question depends on the real assessment of the future development of the international situation and the development of the movement itself in the course of this decade.

At the beginning of the decade the international situation is very (?grave). UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has recently stated with every right that the international situation had never been as dangerous as now at any moment since the Cuban crisis in 1962. Numerous statesmen and prominent political personalities in the world hold a similar view. Such views are rapidly spreading, especially following the U.S. decision to start producing the neutron bomb.

Many people justifiably hold the view that the whole world faces a difficult decade pregnant with grave threats to peace and security in the world.

U.S.-Soviet relations, which follow the line of constant exacerbation, increasing tension, confrontation and rivalry, are the main element of the exacerbation of international relations and of the ceaseless increase in international tension. They are the two by far most powerful great world powers, which possess the biggest arsenals of nuclear and conventional arms and which, if for any reason they rushed into a mutual armed conflict, would set the whole world ablaze and cause the greatest catastrophic tragedy in the history of mankind.

The blocs in which these two powers enjoy hegemony are being drawn into confrontation, and this is also spreading to some countries outside the blocs which have for various reasons established special relations with the great powers or the blocs.

The most pronounced forms of the exacerbation of the international situation are the arms race, which entered a new stage after 1978, military interventions and interference in the internal affairs of a number of independent and, as a rule, nonaligned countries, and the almost complete halt in the settling of international crises and other international problems and in particular international economic problems.

The prospects for the development of international relations in the eighties are oppressed by heavy, dark and threatening clouds.

It is from all this that the Nonaligned Movement must proceed in programming its activities, initiatives, priorities and so forth.

In such an international situation the prospect unfolding before the Nonaligned Movement is a hard, complex and long struggle by the movement for the realization of the goals of the policy of nonalignment in the conditions created by a very high degree of tension in international relations.

The international role of the movement and policy of nonalignment will not diminish. It will constantly grow bigger and bigger, in its capacity as an independent nonbloc force, the greater the tension and exacerbation in international relations.

Those who forecast a decrease in the role and influence of the Nonaligned Movement are wrong. They will quickly see for themselves that their appraisals are erroneous.

On the other hand we see that some very important member-countries of the blocs comprehend the enormous international significance of the policy and movement of nonalignment for the maintenance of the existing balance of forces in the world. To many it is becoming clear that the prospects for the preservation of peace and security over a longer period of time in the world would be very poor if it were not for the existence and active role of the policy and movement of nonalignment in international life. During the recent period one has noticed with increasing frequency statements to this effect by individual governments or declarations made at multilateral meetings.

Contrary to this, we have regrettably read some articles which are so limited by dogmatism and the bloc ideas about the development of international relations, struggle for peace, and so forth that they advocate the strategy of rallying together between the communist parties and leagues and other forces, which they exhaustively enumerate, with the "socialist community" constituting the main force, but among these forces the movement and policy of nonalignment are not even mentioned. Such an international independent and nonbloc force does not exist in this strategy. There is no need for it. This is dogmatic and bloctype blindness which fails to see and therefore ignores the real political forces and balance of forces on the world scene and cannot imagine any "rallying" other than "rallying" around the two blocs.

Any strategy which fails to take into account the international role of the enormous power of the Nonaligned Movement can lead only to a blind alley, to even greater rivalry between the blocs over spheres of interest and, in the final analysis, to a new world war.

Nonaligned Movement in the Struggle for Peace and Detente

In this decade the Nonaligned Movement faces its historical goal and task, which is to mobilize all its forces and all the other forces in the world, all the appropriate international universal and regional organizations and above all the United Nations for the attainment of the kind of world peace which the world can only achieve by promoting the process of detente in the way in which detente is interpreted by nonaligned countries, as a universal common effort of all nations and states aimed at gradually settling all the unsolved international problems and dangerous international crises. Is there any chance of pulling detente out of stagnation and deterioration, any chance of reviving detente, any chance of such a universal detente beginning to develop? Yes, there certainly is, but only if certain conditions are first achieved. What are these conditions? How much of a contribution can nonaligned countries make to this?

On whom, on what forces can nonaligned forces count with regard to a joint, parallel and simultaneous action aimed at reviving detente?

To what extent may one count on the governments of the European member-countries of the blocs?

To what extent may one count on the mood of the people and on the organized political forces in these countries?

All these questions demand accurate answers.

In a recent statement to the Belgrade paper POLITIKA, Willy Brandt was optimistic about the existence of a genuine possibility of talks primarily between the United States and the USSR, which also means of the revival of detente. The only question is whether these possibilities will be utilized.

Many say that there is no alternative to detente, that the only alternative is the rush into a world thermonuclear war. On a long-term basis this certainly cannot be denied. However, on a short- or medium-term basis this should not be taken as accurate. The well-known period the "cold war" provides by itself sufficient proof of this. There is possibility of a new period of the "cold war," a new edition of it, which could last, perhaps, for a decade or even longer, and be accompanied by a multitude of new local crises, local wars, military interventions, new expansion of the spheres of interest, especially in the still "undivided area" occupied by nonaligned countries.

Consequently nonaligned countries must mobilize all their energies to prevent such a development of international relations and must strive instead to revive detente. They must, more than until now, establish closer ties with all the other countries which are ready to strive for the same goal. They must establish closer ties with the political movements and forces throughout the world, in all the countries which struggle for the same goals. They must find a suitable manner and form of this cooperation. For the time being there are no such forms and mechanisms, except within the UN framework.

The revival of detente is a concrete action; it represents a complete series of actions aimed at settling the existing crises, finding peaceful solution stop disputes between countries, putting an end to military interventions and to the occupation of other poeope's countries, reducing armed forces and armament, attaining the new international economic order and the goals of the "third decade of the strategy of developments," resolving international economic problems, and completing the process of decolonization. In this lies the essence of detente, and it is this that constitutes the process of relaxation of international tension.

Detente is not only talks between the United States and the USSR, though there can be no detente without improved relations between these two powers. If detente were limited only to seeking agreements and discussions between the United States and the USSR, there would be a revival of the well-known fear felt in the 1973-75 period in many countries about a condominium by the two superpowers, fear of accord reached between them at the expense of others, and so forth.

Detente is not merely negotiations and attempts to achieve accord between the two blocs, between East and West, though there can be no detente without negotiations, without improved relations between the two blocs.

Nor is detente possible without improved relations between the USSR and China, which was best demonstrated at the time of the outbreak of the grave crisis in Southeast Asia, which took place because of Vietnam's military intervention in and invasion of Kampuchea, which was then followed by China's "punitive" military intervention in Vietnam.

There can be no detente without a solution to the crisis in the Middle East, the problem of Afghanistan, the problem of Kampuchea, the problem of Namibia, and end to the war between Iraq and Iran, the problem of disarmament and other international problems.

There can be no detente unless a stop is put to the practice of military interventions and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, nor can one prevent the outbreak of new crises unless a switch is made over to the strict application of the principle that disputes between states should be solved in a peaceful manner.

There can be no detente unless the gap between the industrially developed and developing countries or between the developed North and underdeveloped South is stopped from growing wider. There can be no detente without global talks within the UN framework between developing and developed countries on the subject of [word indistinct], that is to say on the settling of the acute problems of food, raw materials, energy, trade, industrialization of developing countries, development and in the financial, monetary field. The increasingly more difficult position of developing countries and the deepening economic crisis in developed countries threaten to become the main cause of international tension, instability in international relations, economic, political and social instability in many countries, outbreak of new crises and a threat to peace and security in the world.

There cannot even be a progressive development of the world socialist process without the detente for which the nonaligned countries are fighting. Without detente, that is, in conditions of international tension and a cold war, this process cannot make progress without unforeseeable consequences, complications, counterrevolutionary blows and so forth. We still need to make enormous and long-lasting efforts to ensure that this penetrates and is planted deep in the consciousness of all the forces which are fighting for socialist transformations in their countries, and for the creation of a socialist order instad of a capitalist one. This especially needs to penetrate the consciousness of the working class, regardless of which parties and programs it supports politically, for peace, lasting world peace, is in the deepest life interest of the working class and all peoples of the world.

Finally, there can be no real detente until respect for the principle of active peaceful coexistence dominates in international relations between all countries, regardless of the differences or similarities of their social orders, above all, respect for those most basic principles: independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, noninterference in internal affairs, nonintervention, absence of the use of force or threat of force.

The nonaligned countries have also advocated such detente at their summit conferences, from the first Belgrade conference in 1961, to the sixth in Havana in 1979. Such a detente can be the only guarantee of the creation of lasting peace and security and general progress in the world.

The Nonaligned Movement and the Arms Race

In the eighties the nonaligned countries will be confronted with the arms race. This race has not stopped since World War II. It also continued in the period of the rise of detente. Apart from the SALT-I agreement on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, an agreement which has expired and is no longer in force, and the nonproliferation treaty, on the agreement not to spread nuclear arms, no progress has been achieved in efforts by the international community to realize the process of disarmament to which all peoples of the world aspire.

The agreement to limit the spread of nuclear weapons has been evaded by the big powers as they have increased their arsenals of nuclear arms several times since the signing of that treaty and since a large number of countries joined in with it; many countries which joined this agreement feel they have been cheated, especially since they have been confronted with the monopoly of nuclear powers and supernuclear technology for peaceful purposes and enormous difficulties in the transfer of this technology to the countries which need nuclear energy and have no nuclear technology.

The production and installation of medium-range missiles in Europe, the Pershing II and cruise missiles, the Soviet SS-20 and the latest decision by the U.S. Government on the production of the neutron bomb, have brought the arms race to a level which is more dangerous than has ever been experienced by the world.

The two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, play a leading role in the race. In alliance with them the countries which are members of their blocs follow them in the arms race. But the arms race has spread to a number of developing countries as well. Many of these countries gain enormous numbers of weapons from the big powers and bloc countries, instead of receiving economic aid. Many of them are forced to maintain numerous armed forces for they feel threatened by the policy of the big powers or by individual, neighboring countries which want to undermine them, destabilize them, split them up and impose their hegemony on them, or hold claims to parts of their territory.

Detente cannot be renewed unless the arms race stops and unless the process of gradual reduction of armed forces and armaments is opned up, that is, the process of disarmament.

At the present time the center of world attention is occupied by medium-range nuclear weapons and the neutron bomb. According to Brandt, both Brezhnev and Reagan state that they are ready to start negotiations on these weapons. But Haig and Reagan want "linkage". They do not accept that the USSR and the United States should have negotiations on nuclear arms alone, but on all acute international issues which are of strategic significance for the two superpowers (crises and other such things). This makes the prospects for Soviet-U.S. negotiations uncertain, while the arms race is continuing increasingly more severely. Distrust between these two biggest powers has reached the highest point [words indistinct]. What must the nonaligned countries do in such a situation which, judging by current prospects, may last for the rest of this decade?

It is well known that it was on the initiative of the nonaligned countries, and the fifth summit conference in Colombo in 1971 which adopted a proposal [words indistinct] (?which led) to the first special session of the UN General Assembly (?on disarmament), at which a consensus was reached on significant decisions. But after this session, no step forward was taken in carrying out those decisions along the lines of opening up the process of gradual disarmament. Now the nonaligned countries are carrying out preparations for the second special session on disarmament.

In this decade the nonaligned countries will be in an objective situation which will force them to organize and carry out even more forceful international actions aimed at an end to the arms race and a change in favor of disarmament, the gradual reduction of armed forces and weapons, than have been carried out in the last two decades. These actions will also be aimed at the setting up of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, non-nuclear zones and so forth.

To a very great extent, success in the struggle for peace in the world and the building of a new, more just, international, political and economic order, depends on this, on the activities of the nonaligned countries.

The Nonaligned Movement and Blocs

The movement and policy of nonalignment have been and will remain an independent nonbloc international force which autonomously adopts stances on international questions and autonomously undertakes initiatives and actions for the implementation of its stances and decisions.

As far as the attitude of the Nonaligned Movement toward blocs is concerned, the following words uttered by President Tito at the first Belgrade summit conference on 1 September 1961, in his greeting speech are still valid today: "Allow me now to also point out another error which from time to time appears in the press and commentaries in general about the policy which the conference of the heads of state or government of nonbloc countries will adopt; that is whether this policy will be pro-Western or pro-Eastern. Such speculations are entirely unnecessary because we have not met here in order to support blocs but to state and coordinate clearly our stance on the most important questions which worry the world today. Then we shall see how our stances differ and how they coincide with one or the other side." This stance is essentially different from "equidistance" (i.e. equal distance from both blocs).

The Nonaligned Movement followed this direction, this orientation, for the past two decades and no pressure from outside and inside could divert it from it.

The movement has not only played a historic role in checking the spreading of division of the world into blocs but has also--by its entire activity and struggle for the implementation of the aims and principles of the policy of nonalignment--strived to contribute as much as possible to the overcoming of the division of the world into blocs and, by strengthening the process of international detente, to the construction of a new international order on the basis of active peaceful coexistence which would make blocs historically untenable and lead to their withering away.

However, in a more tense international situation at the beginning of this decade, the movement of the nonaligned countries is faced with the danger of deeper and more expanded division of the world into blocs instead of the end of bloc divisions which would be in the interest of peace in the world and international cooperation. It must resist this with all its might.

This is not only reflected in the action of NATO and the rightwing forces in Spain for Spain to join NATO. This is also reflected in a number of agreements between countries outside blocs, even some nonaligned countries, and individual great powers which contain military and defense clauses on the basis of which these countries are more or less formally included in the military systems of the blocs.

This is only the result of the struggle between great powers to expand their spheres of interests and influence, a struggle which embodies a great possible danger for world peace.

With regard to the entry of Spain into NATO, the reaction in the world is divided. During our talks with our friends from the West German Social Democratic Party, we were asked what we thought of Spain's entry into NATO and whether this would threaten the independence and nonalignment of Yugoslavia. We replied that in our view Spain's adherence to NATO would have very bad consequences but that they would be no worse for Yugoslavia than for other European countries and the world. The point is that should Spain join NATO, a very dangerous process would start after a long time in expanding the blocs, that is in dividing the world into blocs.

For over 25 years, the number of countries which are bloc members has remained the same. This is mainly due to the movement and policy for nonalignment which played the main role in checking and preventing the deepening of the world division into blocs. The reopening of the process of expanding and deepening the world division into blocs is undoubtedly a new dangerous element of increased international tension and of the threat to world peace.

The nonaligned countries must bravely face the truth. As in 1961, when they adopted the stance that the policy of nonalignment is characterized by the nonadherence to military blocs, that the nonaligned countries cannot enter military alliances which serve the policy of confrontation between great powers and blocs over spheres of interest of interest and influence, so today--at the beginning of the third decade of their existence--they must raise their voices and resolutely oppose all concrete attempts to expand the division of the world into blocs as a new very great danger for peace and security in the world.

They must also find the strength to oppose in every concrete case some nonaligned countries which for various objective reasons, or for their political, strategic or other interests, have linked themselves more closely with some great powers--not only in the economic but also in the political and military field--and which have become by their activity in the movement in some concrete cases willy-nilly the protagonists of the policy of great powers and blocs in the Nonaligned Movement.

After all, we have already for several years now openly said that the great powers and blocs had managed to achieve a certain penetration of the Nonaligned Movement, and that they had not reduced their pressure on the movement.

However, until now the movement has managed to master this situation by limiting the influence of this penetration and by gathering the enormous majority of the nonaligned countries around the basic--or as Tito would put it--"original principles and aims of the policy of nonalignment." In this sense, the movement preserved its unity in 1979 in Havana and in 1981 in New Delhi despite all outside pressures and pressures from inside, despite all [words indistinct].

The question of unity of the movement on the basis of the original principles and aims of the Nonaligned Movement is becoming even more important in this decade because the power and influence of the movement depends on this unity. However, the conditions for the maintenance, preservation and strengthening of this unity will be still more complex because past experience shows that when international tension increases the pressure by the great powers and blocs on the Nonaligned Movement also increases and their influence in the movement through the nonaligned countries which have become more closely linked with them becomes more active. In such conditions, it is more difficult to maintain the unity of stances and actions when an attack is mounted on the steps, behavior and actions of the great powers which undermine the basic principles or are opposed to the principles for which the Nonaligned Movement is fighting. There are several examples of this.

The movement will certainly overcome this situation in the future the way it has done up to now, achieving its unity whenever this is required by the international situation.

The Nonaligned Movement and the Struggle for a New International Economic Order

In the eighties the struggle for a new international economic order, which was raised by the Nonaligned Movement, is entering into a new phase. The world economy is in a crisis which is constantly deepening. The gap between the developing countries and the developed countries is deepening. The economic and political position of the developing countries is increasingly more difficult, but the developed countries, isolated within their own circle and their economic blocs, cannot find a solution to the deep disturbances on their economies, instability, inflation, recession, unemployment and so forth. Problems are piling up in relations between East and West and in relations between the developed North and the underdeveloped South.

All the indications are that the developed countries are coming to the realization and assessment that global negotiations must be started as soon as possible on international economic problems in the context of the United Nations and its institutions, negotiations which were proposed by the nonaligned countries, or rather, the Group of 77 of developing countries. Now there are certain prospects that these global negotiations might start. If this then happens, the nonaligned countries will be in a favorable situation to contribute to a new international economic order with its proposals, initiatives and concepts, on bases which were established in the documents of the sixth and seventh UN General Assembly sessions and the documents of the nonaligned countries' summit conference and of the gatherings of the Group of 77 of developing countries.

In the Nonaligned Movement's call and struggle for a new international order and for the development of the developing countries, exceptionally great significance is attached to cooperation between nonaligned countries, that is between the developing countries. In this decade, this cooperation, especially economic cooperation, will be one of the central areas of activity in the Nonaligned Movement.

In the last two decades few results have been achieved in this. There are explanations for this. Perhaps the most important cause lies in the fact that the great majority of developing countries and underdeveloped countries came about after World War II in the process of the decolonization of former colonies.

In many conversations at gatherings of nonaligned countries it has been possible to establish that after winning independence and forming its own sovereign autonomous state, every developing and underdeveloped country was confronted with enormous difficulties, above all with problems of development. But one of the most important difficulties was the fact that even after achieving political independence it still maintained links of a certain greater or lesser dependence with its former metropolis for a long time in the economic, information, educational, cultural, communications and other spheres. It is difficult and slow for many nonaligned countries or developing countries which have been colonies of colonial European and other powers to free themselves of this web of links and dependence, and there are also many difficulties and problems.

This reality has limited the possibilities of more successful linking and cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral, between the developing and underdeveloped countries in various spheres on the principle of mutual interests and the development and progress of every developing country. It is true that we should not underestimate those results which have been achieved, for they are proof that cooperation between the developing countries in economic, information and other spheres is quite possible and that the real conditions for this cooperation exist.

With these objective, historical circumstances, we can explain why some actions have not succeeded even despite the established and evident interest of the nonaligned countries, as was the case, for example, with the setting up of the development fund, despite the fact that the statute was adopted and all preparations were carried out as early as 1975.

In the decade upon which we have just embarked, there will certainly be gradual progress and far greater success and results in cooperation between the underdeveloped, and between the developing countries. The important circumstance is that the consciousness of the possibilities of cooperation in nearly all developing countries is constantly increasing. As a result of this, contacts and making agreements are increasingly more intensive and there is increasingly more interest and initiative on the part of developing and underdeveloped countries in cooperation, particularly in bilateral relations. At the moment, there are fewer results or initiatives in multilateral cooperation.

The degree to which possibilities are realistic is witnessed by the example of trade or goods exchange between developing countries and the developed countries, as well as among themselves. Developing countries' imports from developed countries amount to about $200 billion. These consist mainly of food, equipment and plant, and reproduction material. Developing countries frequently import through the developed countries markets and transnational companies, raw materials which are produced in some developing countries (for example, jute, rubber, cotton, nonferous metals and so forth). On the other hand, trade between the developing countries is much less, especially if oil is excluded.

Today some developing countries have achieved a degree of development of industry, construction, transport, financial institutions, trade organizations and so forth, in order to develop much more trade between developing countries. If only part of these $200 billion spent on imports from developed countries, or at least any further growth in developing countries' importing of goods which they themselves produce, were spent on trade between the developing countries, enormous room would be opened up for dynamic growth in economic and other cooperation between the developing countries. This would only speed up the development of all developing countries.

This would be the application in principle of the strategy of "relying on one's own individual and collective resources," which was adopted by the underdeveloped and developing countries and advocated by them at their gatherings and conferences at high levels and at the highest level.

This would be one of the most important ways of ending the constant deterioration of the position of developing countries, of ending the continued deepening of the gap in development among the developing and underdeveloped countries. At the same time this would do much to strengthen the negotiating positions of developing countries in global negotiations with developed countries on a new international economic order and all acute international economic problems.

We can be certain that the situation in the world economy at the start of this decade will influence increasingly more strongly all nonaligned countries and all developing countries, so that in the eighties far more than in the last two decades they will devote themselves to the development of mutual bilateral and multilateral cooperation. We can also be certain that in every nonaligned country and every developing country there will be an increased realization and feeling that mutual cooperation is the way to consolidate the political and economic independence of each of them and their equality in relations with all underdeveloped and developed countries.

Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned Movement in This Decade

As a result of its activity and as a result of the role which Comrade Tito played as one of the founders and the most significant creator of the policy and movement of nonalignment, Yugoslavia has been among the most active and influential countries in the Nonaligned Movement in the last two decades.

The contribution by Comrade Tito and Yugoslavia to the development of the policy and movement of nonalignment is enormous, as is their contribution to the nonaligned countries' fight for the realization of the basic principles and aims of the nonaligned policy, the building of a new and more just international order as a whole and peace and active peaceful coexistence in the world.

As a nonaligned country, Yugoslavia has been very active in fighting for and advocating the same aims at the United Nations and in the context of all activities aimed at European security and cooperation, as well as in developing relations with all countries, both neighboring socialist countries and Western capitalist countries, as well as with nonaligned countries and all developing countries.

After Comrade Tito's death, there were those abroad who judged that Yugoslavia's role and activity in the Nonaligned Movement and in the international sphere would gradually shrink. They explained that this would happen because of the lack of Comrade Tito's personal reputation and prestige, a great historic personage of world significance, and because Yugoslavia would be much more preoccupied with its internal economic, political intranational and other problems than it had been during Comrade Tito's life.

And some forecast that Yugoslavia's influence would weaken, because this was what they wanted, for this would suit their interests, for a nonaligned Yugoslavia (with its social system built up as a total system of socialist self-management in a multinational federation with the national issue resolved on the basis of a strict application of the democratic principles of true national equality and brotherhood and unity) is a hindrance to the realization of the strategic aims of some powers in the Balkans, the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

For over a year now since the death of Comrade Tito, the activity of Yugoslavia has not diminished although we deeply miss Comrade Tito, his reputation and prestige, when it is necessary to undertake more important initiatives. After all, not only Yugoslavia but also the world, especially the Nonaligned Movement, Europe and so on, miss the powerful, experienced and wide personality of Comrade Tito in the present ever more dramatic international situation. Previously in similar situations he put all the enormous weight of his reputation and prestige into the service of the struggle for peace, for peaceful international cooperation, detente and the solution of acute international problems.

Aware of this unalterable fact, we have been doing all we can to maintain the activity and engagement of Yugoslavia in the international field, and especially in the Nonaligned Movement at the same level.

The role, influence, reputation and prestige of Yugoslavia always depend on our ability to undertake initiatives and to make as great contribution as possible, consistently observing the principles of the policy of nonalignment, to the international efforts and struggle to solve international problems in the spirit of the principles of the UN Charter and the nonaligned policy. This is so now and it will be in the future, as well as in this decade.

We are aware that we are facing a very difficult decade with regard to the development of international relations. It is clear to us that our country may face serious tests and challenges. We know that the entire Nonalignment Movement will be faced in this decade with difficult challenges and tests.

We are proceeding from all this and from realistic assessments of the prospects of developments of international relations and of the role of the movement and policy for nonalignment in this development. It is therefore our conviction and assessment that it is a vital question for Yugoslavia to maintain and to increase still more the intensity of its activity, engagement and striving in the Nonaligned Movement for all those aims, program and platforms which the nonaligned countries have adopted so far, as well as for the decisions which they will continue to adopt. Our activity in the movement must not weaken, while the role, influence, reputation and prestige of our country will depend on the extent of our contributions to the struggle for the aims of the policy of nonalignment, that is for the interests of the entire international community. They will also depend on our consistent observation of the principles of the policy of nonalignment and on our determination and steadiness in the implementation of this policy, which is one of the most important guarantees of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

Our country has exceptionally favorable conditions for playing an important role in the development of economic and other cooperation between the nonaligned countries, or between the developing countries. We have achieved such a level of economic development that we are now well capable of developing various aspects of cooperation with the developing countries in bilateral relations and multilateral cooperation.

It is high time that we go beyond the level which we have now achieved in the development of bilateral cooperation with the developing countries. The aim that by 1985 the developing countries' participation in our country's foreign trade will amount to 25-26 percent is not only possible to achieve but also an imperative for our country, for its economic and political independence and its consistency in the implementation of the nonaligned policy in the entire foreign political activity.

In this decade, therefore, our country will be faced with great, complex and difficult tasks in the activity of the Nonaligned Movement and on the international level as a whole.

BELGRADE OFFICIAL REBUTS RADIO COMMENT ON PRICES

AU272130 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 81

[Nikola Obrstarevic interview with Dragan Nikolic, member of the Belgrade Municipal Committee of the League of Communists in Belgrade; date not given--live or recorded]

[Summary] On several occasions we have expressed our disagreement with those who blame the press for the situation in the market following the publication of the news on the support for proposed increases in sugar, oil and milk prices.

Last Saturday in this program we polemicized with the views expressed by Dragan Nikolic, member of the Belgrade Municipal Committee of the Leagus of Communists, at a meeting of a section of the Belgrade Municipal SAWP Conference. In this connection our journalist Nikola Obrstarevic interviews Dragan Nikolic:

[Question] In our newsreel we carried a commentary in connection with your alleged statement at the meeting of the section of the Belgrade Municipal SAWP Conference that the media should "not report any and all views by anybody and everybody.

[Answer] Thank for inviting me. I really consider it necessary that I myself answer that commentary by your journalist on my statement at the meeting of the section of the Municipal Conference, especially because the journalist concerned did not attend the meeting and was not fully acquainted with what I said.

[Question] Would you tell us in what direction your statement was aimed?

[Answer] In my statement I primarily emphasized the the responsibility of the executive committee of the Association of Agriculture and Food Industry of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia. "Among other factors that contributed to the situation that was created I also mentioned TANJUG and the way in which it published the news about the announced price increases. However, your commentary says that I blamed the press. This is the first gross misinformation of the public. Your journalist evidently needed this distortion to formulate his next thesis in which the press is requested to play a censorship role. This thesis is absurd in light of everything that was said at the meeting of the section. There was no dilemma at all about publishing the news. The dilemma was about the way in which the news should have been published. After all, at their meeting, the communists of TANJUG themselves concluded that it is necessary to determine responsibility for the fact that the news was not accompanied by a critical commentary at the very moment of its publication.

"However, in my opinion, the entire matter is more serious. When all other positions, views and proposals of more competent organs and bodies for prices than the aforementioned committee are glossed over, then such one-sided information objectively assumes the significance of a final proposal and more or less becomes an accomplished fact. If the journalist involved had been better informed about the entire complex of problems and if he had behaved responsibly, then the news itself would have been different, among other things also because the proposal for price increases had not passed through the appropriate procedure and the organs responsible for prices. By the manner in which it published the news, TANJUG in a certain way misinformed the public and consented to be misused as a tool of a socially intolerable method of increasing the prices through pressures and blackmail."

[Question] If the public is not informed about everything from the first word to the last conclusion, is not that a way of misinforming the public and a way of pushing a proposal through the back door, as we said in our commentary?

[Answer] The public must be informed on all stages of social accords and consultations. But what is important in this connection is the fact that a critical approach must be adopted on all such occasions.

[Question] Comrade Nikolic, you have taken steps to have the delegates who attended that meeting recalled. This is one of the first and certainly not the last and only step taken in that connection.

[Answer] It is in accordance with the policy of the League of Communists that all those who fail to carry out the adopted policy must be relieved of their positions and of the trust of society. I believe that in this case the Economic Chamber of Belgrade has acted absolutely correctly.

CORRECTION TO SERBIAN PRESIDENT VIDIC SPEECH

The following correction to the item entitled "Serbian President Vidic Addresses Kosovo Problem," published in the 27 August Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page I 2, are supplied from a Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian correction to the item carried at 1730 GMT on 26 August: On page I 4 substitute the following passage for paragraph seven:

After saying that an attack on our constitutional order is a punishable offence, Vidic noted that over the past 2 days he had talked with the leadership of the province about the formerly noticeable tendency on the part of a number of Serbs and Montenegrins, farmers, workers and specialists, to emigrate from Kosovo. Vidic considers that the provincial leadership took a very good and important step by setting up municipal commissions to ascertain the reasons for this phenomenon and arrive at objective conclusions so that the real reply can then be found through common effort.

As a citizen of Yugoslavia and as a Serb, if I may put it this way, Vidic said, I personally do not think that there is any reason for the Serbian population of Kosovo to leave this area, their native country, for any pressing personal reason of their own. Albanians and Serbs have lived together here for centuries and we should go on living together and building our future and our country together here in Kosovo as well, regardless of whether we are Serbs, Albanians or Montenegrins.

Vidic went on to say that it had been agreed with the provincial leadership to complete the work on the exodus of Serbian and Montenegrin families jointly and to consider the measures to be taken not only in Kosovo but also in Serbia, to discourage this process and in order to establish, as Vidic put it, a [word indistinct] good-neighborly, rational and normal situation. There is no reason why we should not believe that the somewhat disturbed relations will be restored and that togetherness, brotherhood and unity will manifest themselves here in their most humane forms.

I think, Vidic went on, that we Serbian communists have no reason to be apologetic with regard to Serbian communists' attitude to the national question. We did much both before and during the war and also after the war to expose the greater-Serbian clique in bourgeois Yugoslavia. During the war, in our attitude to the Albanian people and our attitude to the Macedonian people and to everything that belongs to this category of our party's attitude to the national question, we showed, not only as the League of Communists but also as the Serbian people, that with regard to differentiation we are capable enough of differentiating. We defeated the Chetnik betrayal in the whole of our country and in Serbia just as we defeated the ideology of greater-Serbian chauvinism which the Chetniks supported with their bayonets and daggers that were never used against the occupiers though they were used against the Serbian people.

There is no reason why in 1981 any Serbian communist should feel uncomfortable in the company of Albanian comrades and citizens and why any Serb should, as a citizen of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, be ashamed of his way of life with regard to the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, because we have settled accounts with greater-Serbian concepts, Vidic stressed.

He went on to say that this does not mean that there is no longer any obligation to keep an eye on the attempts being made by greater-Serbian centers abroad or on some of the remnants of such views. But as the League of Communists and as organized socialist forces we are dutybound to continue to offer active resistance to anything that might ressurect any kind of nationalism, which, as the League of Communists, we have never approved of or supported. On the contrary, we went to the national liberation struggle to defeat such nationalism and, through our common struggle, establish relations which befit equal and fraternal nations.